2
Executing a Contingency

Neither Central Command nor Third Army had operational forces assigned to them during normal times. Both operated on reduced establishment, which meant that both were confronted with the need to create expanded headquarters at the same time major forces were being deployed to the theater of operations under their command. Because of the distance from American and European bases and limits on strategic lift, U.S. forces were dependent upon host-nation support from the outset. Arrangements for provision of such support had to be made as troops flowed in. On top of this, because no doctrine existed for Third Army's role, much of what was done had to be made up as the process unfolded. The focus of this chapter is on the actions taken by Third Army to establish itself in theater in the late summer of 1990—the beginning of Operation Desert Shield, the defense of the Arabian Peninsula.

This chapter also assesses the personalities of the men selected to lead the Army's land effort. If the unwritten cultural values or prejudices of the Army are correct, the highly successful war in Southwest Asia was directed by the wrong generals. For the Army, the Gulf War was a tanker's war. Although he had commanded a mechanized division in the United States, General Norman Schwarzkopf was not ordinarily thought of as an authority on armored warfare.[1] The commander in chief (CINC) was a light infantryman, respected as an aggressive, indeed, combative leader. He was also known as a boss who "shot messengers," a big man whose leadership style was that of a classic bully, a commander who employed his size as a weapon of intimidation and tolerated neither fools nor honest disagreement gladly. Yet Schwarzkopf was also a leader known for the genuine affection he felt for his soldiers, and there are those who maintain that, in spite of his sometimes brutal treatment of subordinates, in the long run he rarely followed through on threats made in bad temper.

Schwarzkopf was said by retired Air Force General Charles E. ("Chuck") Yeager to have admitted to being put out to pasture when he was sent to CENTCOM as commander in chief.[2] That is not an entirely inapt assessment, for whatever planning was done in the 1980s for Persian Gulf contingencies, it would have been hard to find many Army officers who believed a major land war in that area likely. Deployment time for heavy forces was considered an insurmountable

problem, although significant efforts were made to address this shortcoming.[3] The Army's premier tanker, General Crosbie Saint, a former commander of III Corps at Fort Hood, Texas, had been sent to Europe to command U.S. Army Europe and NATO's Central Army Group in the event of mechanized war breaking out across the Iron Curtain. But that was before the sudden arrival of a "new world order."

Schwarzkopf had been an assistant division commander of the 8th Infantry Division (Mechanized) in Europe and had commanded the 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized) in Georgia, but he had never commanded a large armored force in the field. In 1985, he became the deputy chief of staff for operations (DCSOPS) at the Department of the Army and, thereafter, the commander of I Corps at Fort Lewis. The position of DCSOPS doubtless prepared him for his role as a joint-service commander, but it would have contributed nothing to his practical knowledge of mechanized warfare on a large scale. The I Corps commander commanded a headquarters and various light and Reserve Component forces focused largely on Korea and other Pacific theater contingencies. While commanding the 24th Division, Schwarzkopf had been appointed deputy to the Commander in Chief, Atlantic, during Operation Urgent Fury, the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada. No doubt his experiences in that operation instructed many of his decisions as Commander in Chief, Central Command.

In his memoir, Schwarzkopf portrays himself as something of a regional expert at the time he assumed command because he had lived in the region as a boy. It must be remembered, however, that he had last seen the Middle East as a 14-year-old on holidays from school. While he seems to have retained an emotional attraction to the region, one suspects whatever expertise he possessed in 1990 came from hard work done as commander in chief far more than from any earlier practical experience in the area.[4]

Lieutenant General John Yeosock, the Third Army commander, brought to his job a number of experiences that would be directly relevant to the tasks he would have to perform during the Gulf War. Yeosock was a career armored cavalryman.[5] He commanded a squadron of the 3d Armored Cavalry at Fort Bliss, Texas, and the 194th Armored Brigade at Fort Knox. Later, he had been chief of staff, assistant division commander (ADC), and commander of the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Hood. The division participated in Reforger (Return of Forces to Europe) exercises while he was both ADC and division commander. Yeosock commanded the division at the time General Saint was III Corps commander, and he took part in one of the

most ambitious of the Reforger exercises, one in which the III Corps exercised its role as a reinforcing corps to Allied Forces Central Europe. Yeosock's association with Major General William G. Pagonis, Forces Command's J4, whom he would select to be his support command commander, went back to a Reforger exercise in which both officers moved the 1st Cavalry Division to Europe and back. Pagonis was then deputy commander of the 21st Support Command in U.S. Army Europe.

Equally important, Yeosock had served as assistant deputy chief of staff for operations when Schwarzkopf was the DCSOPS. He understood the commander in chief's personality and guided his behavior accordingly. More to the point, he was generally able to interpret the CINC's temperamental outbursts and able to extract from them the necessary information to get on with the business at hand.

Yeosock, in fact, was an uneasy complement to Schwarzkopf. Where Schwarzkopf was mercurial, forceful, and dynamic, Yeosock was thoughtful, thorough, and circumspect. The commander in chief was sensitive to his prerogatives, a characteristic that assumes clear definition of responsibility and a positivist view of bureaucracy. Yeosock thrived on ambiguity and the indirect approach. He was laconic by nature and his guidance could sometimes be cryptic. However, by not concerning himself with gaining credit, which might have appeared as an infringement on the CINC's business, Yeosock often succeeded in influencing or expanding his operating environment. He also seems to have made it a cardinal rule to disagree with Schwarzkopf only in private and to use his staff officers as stalking horses (what he called, "recon by fire") to feel out the theater commander's views on sensitive issues. This method of dealing with the theater commander was generally successful, perhaps even necessary, given the personalities involved. It may have sometimes disappointed subordinate commanders and staff officers, who would have preferred a more confrontational advocate with the CINC—especially since they would not have to carry the hod.

Although Yeosock, as a lieutenant general, was selected to be deputy Forces Command's commander and commander of Third Army, rather than being given command of a corps, he had other qualifications that especially suited him to his Desert Shield-Desert Storm responsibilities. As a former program manager for the Saudi Arabian National Guard (PMSANG), he knew the country, he knew the Saudi armed forces, and, most important, he knew the Saudi civilian and military leadership. Yeosock had experience in desert

operations, not just from his tour in Saudi Arabia but also from his period as a squadron commander in the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment at Fort Bliss; as commander of the 1st Cavalry Division, learning from unit experience at the National Training Center; and as the Third Army commander taking part in various exercises and consultations with regional leaders.[6] As deputy commander in chief of Forces Command, Yeosock had a thorough grasp of the capabilities of the Reserve Components and their place in contingency plans, and he knew how the FORSCOM staff itself would respond to the mission to deploy his forces. Finally, Yeosock had conducted the Army's analysis of the Department of Defense plan to downsize the armed forces (The Defense Management Review). Consequently, he probably had more knowledge about Army force structure than most of his peers, knowledge that would be vital to creating a theater-level command and support structure in Saudi Arabia.

Interestingly enough, Yeosock was almost entirely innocent of Army professional schooling. He had attended the Marine Corps Amphibious Warfare School, the Armed Forces Staff College, and the National War College. But if he had missed the Army's institutional fascination with abstract theory and doctrine during the 1980s, he had mastered thoroughly two traditional doctrinal concepts: the commander's estimate by evaluation of METT-T (mission, enemy, terrain and weather, and troops and time available) and the application of the complementary principles of war—mass (concentration) and economy of force. He would use the estimate process throughout Desert Shield and Desert Storm to balance short- and long-term risks involved in the various trade-offs required by political circumstances, changing missions, and the exigencies involved in operating at the end of a long strategic line of communications. He would employ the principle of mass to focus combat power against the enemy's most vital forces. These simple theoretical guides, combined with his practical experience in moving heavy forces, would be more than adequate to the task at hand.

For all that, the cultural value system of the Army held that the plum assignments for lieutenant generals were the two heavy corps in Europe (V and VII), and the III Corps at Fort Hood, Texas. For light soldiers, there were the XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Bragg and the I Corps at Fort Lewis. Moreover, in 1990, the U.S. Army had no coherent doctrine addressing the roles and missions of an army-level of command. Since Vietnam, the Army had been structured physically and intellectually to go to war as part of a NATO organization in which member nations would contribute national corps to coalition

army groups. The corps was the largest national tactical organization. The irony that the Third Army commander had never commanded at the corps level did not escape his principal tactical subordinates, fellow Lieutenant Generals Gary Luck of XVIII Corps and Frederick Franks of VII Corps.

These cultural norms were not eased at all by the nature of Third Army. Third Army, in normal circumstances, was a small planning headquarters of 222 active-duty officers. It was located at Fort McPherson, Georgia, and assigned responsibility for performing the Army planning and exercise duties pertaining to Central Command.[7] Sixty-five percent of Third Army's go-to-war logistics structure was in the Reserve Component. A significant part of its internal staff manning consisted of Army Reservists assigned to a local Army Reserve Troop Program Unit located in Atlanta. In fact, of the anticipated wartime headquarters strength of 894 officers and enlisted spaces (it actually reached over 1,000), 376 were Reserve Component, and 167 were not even provided for prior to mobilization.[8]

The detailed work of running Third Army fell upon the deputy commander, a major general. A colonel served as chief of staff, and fellow colonels as division chiefs. In many cases these were officers at the end of their careers. This contrasted sharply with the staff of XVIII Airborne Corps, which tended to attract hard chargers on their way up.[9] Staff officers at XVIII Corps, not infrequently and with no little arrogance, were accustomed to looking down on Third Army as "sleepy hollow," a view that did not facilitate interstaff coordination for going to war.

Third Army often appeared to be an appendix to the larger Forces Command headquarters. Indeed, the army commander served as the deputy commander of Forces Command, and the duties associated with the latter title often took precedence over those of the former. In fact, General Yeosock maintained two offices, and he spent more time in that associated with Forces Command than he did in the one down the street associated with Third Army. FORSCOM commands all continental-U.S.-based tactical forces, including XVIII Airborne Corps and all Reserve Component units. The XVIII Airborne Corps, which quite properly considered itself the Army's premier intervention force, ordinarily dealt directly with Forces Command, and only the preceding December, the corps had acted as a joint task force (JTF) and, for a time, as the JTF's Army Forces headquarters as well during Operation Just Cause in Panama.

On 2 August 1990, what had been a speculative exercise two weeks before became a real-life contingency. Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. That same day, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 660, condemning the invasion and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

That day, President George Bush delivered a speech to the Aspen Institute in Colorado.[10] His address concerned the need to restructure U.S. military forces in response to changes in the global environment, specifically the rapid decline of Soviet power. The president's proposal called for an orderly reduction of U.S. military forces over five years. That plan was about to suffer a temporary interruption. On the 2d, the United States imposed an embargo on Iraq, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued an order for deployment of Air Force tanker squadrons and the movement of the USS *Independence* Carrier Battle Group into the North Arabian Sea.[11]

On the evening of 4 August, around 1900, John Yeosock was eating dinner at a neighbor's home when he received a telephone call from General Schwarzkopf at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida.[12] Schwarzkopf, who had briefed the president at Camp David earlier that day, instructed Yeosock to report to MacDill immediately and indicated that if there were no flights, a plane would be dispatched to pick him up. Yeosock had a few words with General Edwin Burba, commander in chief of Forces Command, followed by a brief meeting with his immediate staff. He then flew to MacDill. He took General Pagonis in tow to help him identify logistic requirements, especially for host-nation support.[13] Yeosock expected his absence from Atlanta to be brief. Instead, it would last almost a year and involve assembling an army and fighting a war half the world away. That same day, the European community imposed a trade embargo on Iraq.

The following morning, Schwarzkopf; his J4 (joint logistics staff officer), Major General Dane Starling; J5 (joint operations officer), Rear Admiral Grant A. Sharp; Yeosock; and Lieutenant Colonel Larry Gresham, chief of Third Army's G4 plans, flew to Washington, D.C.[14] There, they joined Lieutenant General Charles A. Horner, commander of Central Command Air Forces, CENTAF, and Colonel William Rider, his deputy chief of staff for logistics (DCSLOG). Horner had been called to Washington the previous day to participate in Schwarzkopf's briefing to the president at Camp David.[15] Following quick meetings in the Pentagon, these seven officers flew to Saudi Arabia with Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney. They were to be the first contingent of Operation Desert Shield.

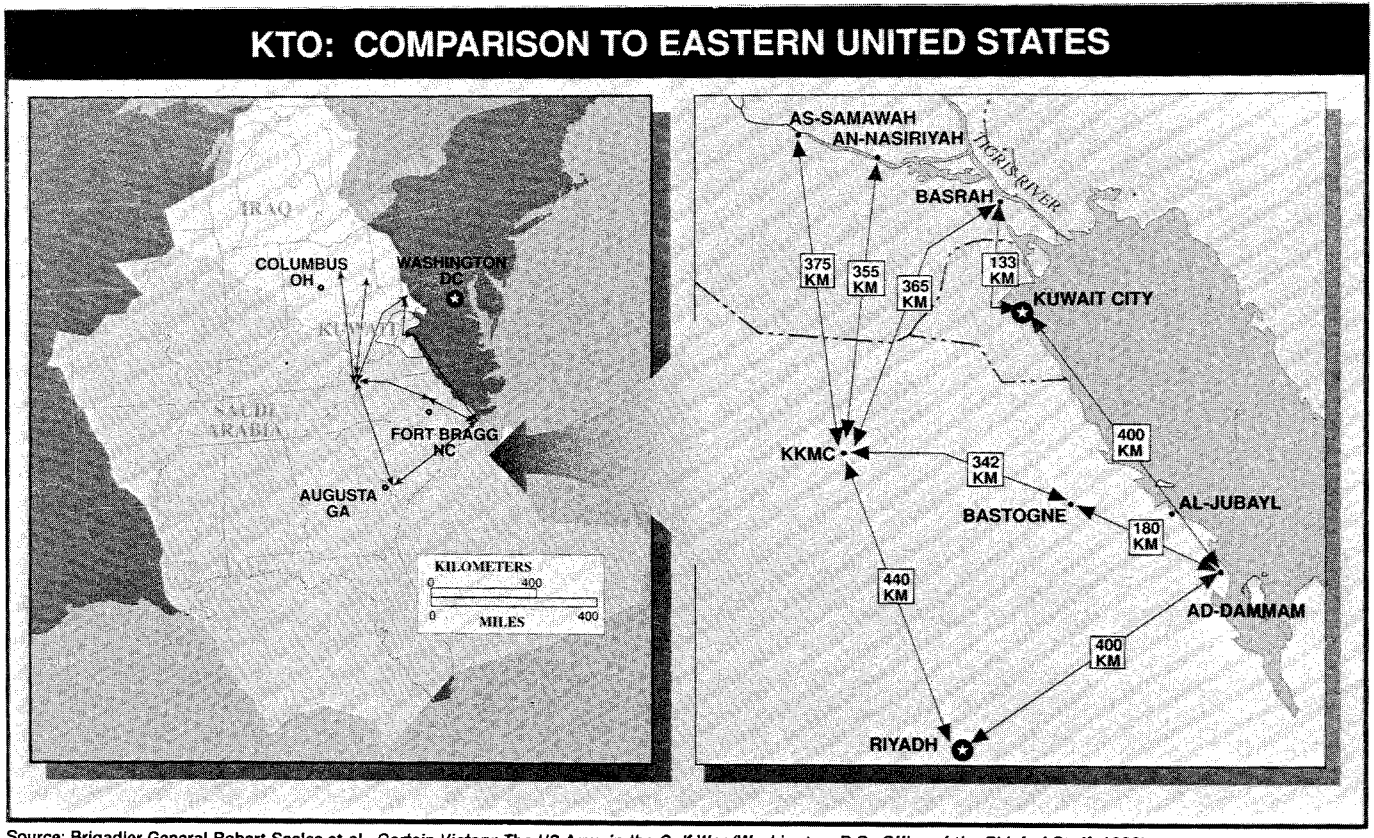
On the 5th, global reaction to the invasion of Kuwait continued to grow. Japan suspended oil imports from Iraq. The same day, Forces Command ordered the Army Reserve's 1185th Transportation Terminal Unit (TTU) to the Port of Savannah, where, for the 1185th's annual active duty training exercise, the unit would outload the 24th Infantry Division. It was to be a longer than normal summer camp for members of the 1185th and many other Reserve Component soldiers.[16]

The secretary of defense and his party arrived in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on 6 August. Following historic nighttime meetings with the Saudi king in Jedda, during which King Faid requested U.S. assistance in the defense of Saudi Arabia, the secretary and CINC returned to the United States. The six military officers who had accompanied them traveled to Riyadh to begin Operation Desert Shield. That day, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 661, calling for an international embargo on Iraq and occupied Kuwait.

On 7 August, responding to the king's request, President Bush directed the commitment of U.S. military forces to the defense of Saudi Arabia (see map 2). The Joint Staff issued the initial deployment orders for operation Desert Shield. The president announced his decision to the public the following day.[17]

Conducting a military operation in Saudi Arabia is no simple task. The Arabian Peninsula is a large area, approximately the size of the United States east of the Mississippi. It has almost no modern road or rail network. The countryside consists almost entirely of a variety of desert terrains. There are no continuous rivers. Climatic conditions are extreme, especially in the high summer months during which the Kuwait crisis developed. On the other hand, the country's few urban areas possess a modern commercial infrastructure from which U.S. forces could and would draw support. There were a large number of modern airfields around the country, modern port facilities, especially at Dammam and Jubayl, and a developed system of basic services. Food, fuel, water, a modern (if limited) phone system, and shelter were all available if they could be tapped. Notwithstanding the absence of a developed road network, buses and trucks—particularly line-haul (long-distance tractor-trailer) trucks—were present in abundance. Because of the heavy investment of oil revenues in modernization and the annual need to accommodate the influx of pilgrims to the Islamic holy sites, the Saudi commercial structure was already heavily dependent upon contracting as a way of doing business. This would facilitate the acquisition of large-scale support to sustain U.S. and coalition forces.

Map 2.



Source: Brigadier General Robert Scales et al., *Certain Victory: The US Army in the Gulf War* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Staff, 1993).

The U.S. military, however, possessed no operational infrastructure in the peninsula other than a Military Training Mission (USMTM) and the Office of the Program Manager, Saudi Arabian National Guard, both of which normally trained various parts of the Saudi military. These two groups, at least, provided some additional hands with which the Army and Air Force commanders could begin to build a U.S. military force in theater. As a former program manager for the Saudi National Guard, Yeosock leaned heavily on that office, using Brigadier General James B. Taylor, the incumbent program manager, as his initial interim chief of staff.

Yeosock's concept of Third Army, once deployed, was summed up in his idea that "Third Army is three armies."[18] (See figure 1.) As ARCENT (Army, Central Command), it was a service component headquarters for a unified commander. As such, it accomplished coordination with sister services and allied ground forces as the principal U.S. land force. The ARCENT commander exercised command over all Army forces assigned (less operational command for certain specified special operations forces) and advised the theater commander on Army matters. As Third Army, it was a "theater army," the major Department of the Army headquarters in theater. The theater army developed an echeloned force structure to support army and theater requirements for various technical capabilities in accordance with Department of Defense directives and the CINC's guidance. Among these were intelligence, communications, transportation, air defense, logistics, civil affairs, military police, and engineering. Finally, the theater army provided the linkage between Army units in the field, other major Army commands, and the Department of the Army.

The duties of service component and theater army are implicit, that is, they always obtain. In addition, the headquarters had to be able to assume a third role, that of a numbered field army. As a field army, Third Army planned operations, allocated combat power and sustainment resources, synchronized theater-level operating systems, and directed execution within the operational span of control assigned by the theater commander.

This division of these three complementary responsibilities is essentially heuristic; that is, it provides a means to address the various duties assigned to the army commander in such a way as to reflect the differing lines of accountability in terms of the army's several functions. It is important to note, however, that all functions were performed by the same staff under the authority of the army commander, often without any clear idea which "army" was

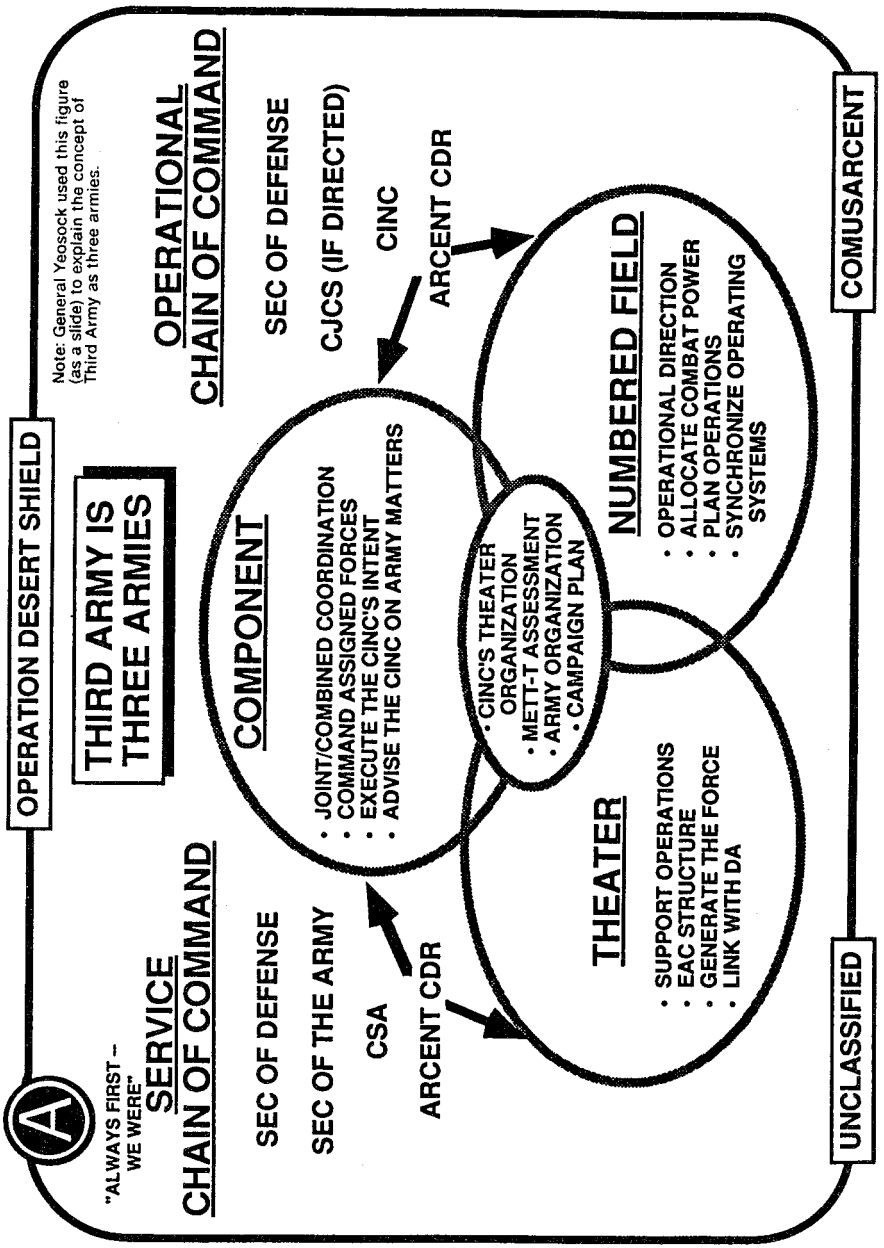

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
"ALWAYS FIRST – WE WERE"
SERVICE CHAIN OF COMMAND
SEC OF DEFENSE
SEC OF THE ARMY
CSA
ARCENT CDR
THIRD ARMY IS THREE ARMIES
Note: General Yeosock used this figure (as a slide) to explain the concept of Third Army as three armies.
OPERATIONAL CHAIN OF COMMAND
SEC OF DEFENSE
CJCS (IF DIRECTED)
CINC
ARCENT CDR
COMPONENT
• JOINT/COMBINED COORDINATION
• COMMAND ASSIGNED FORCES
• EXECUTE THE CINC'S INTENT
• ADVISE THE CINC ON ARMY MATTERS
• CINC'S THEATER ORGANIZATION
• METT-T ASSESSMENT
• ARMY ORGANIZATION
• CAMPAIGN PLAN
THEATER
• SUPPORT OPERATIONS
• EAC STRUCTURE
• GENERATE THE FORCE
• LINK WITH DA
NUMBERED FIELD
• OPERATIONAL DIRECTION
• ALLOCATE COMBAT POWER
• PLAN OPERATIONS
• SYNCHRONIZE OPERATING SYSTEMS
COMUSARCENT
UNCLASSIFIED

Figure 1.

performing at a given time. The army headquarters structure had to be flexible enough to reconfigure according to the functions it was expected to perform. In the case of Third Army, a major staff restructuring took place in November and December 1990 when the headquarters' functions were expanded consequent to the president's decision to create an offensive option.

The tripartite scheme reflected the division of responsibility within the Department of Defense.[19] The various defense reorganization acts since 1947 have retained separate service departments within a unified Defense Department. Service departments have been assigned responsibility for providing organized and equipped forces to theater commanders, whose operational chain of command runs directly to the secretary of defense.[20] Service departments have been responsible for the sustainment of their forces in theater, except where otherwise provided for. Service chiefs of staff answer to a service secretary on departmental matters and simultaneously sit as members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a collective body headed by a chairman who is subordinate to the secretary of defense and president.[21]

The Goldwater-Nichols Act (Defense Reorganization Act of 1986) transferred to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff responsibility and authority formerly vested in the corporate Joint Chiefs. It also provided for a greater role by theater commanders in determining the adequacy and direction of departmental budgeting and wartime theater sustainment. It left intact the departmental structure within the Department of Defense, however, and provided that any disputes that might arise between a theater commander and service departments would be forwarded by the CINC, through the chairman, for resolution by the secretary of defense.[22]

A major purpose of the Goldwater-Nichols Act was to provide theater commanders full latitude to organize their commands to achieve assigned national objectives. One method that has been used since World War II to respond to small contingencies with limited purposes has been the formation of a joint task force, generally commanded by an officer of the predominant service within a unified command and charged with the conduct of necessary operations. The Just Cause, XVIII Airborne Corps example has already been mentioned. General Schwarzkopf, however, chose to organize his forces generally as service components (see figure 2). That is, his major subordinate commands were Army Central Command, Central Command Air Forces, Marine Central Command (MARCENT), and Navy Central Command (NAVCENT). The exception to this

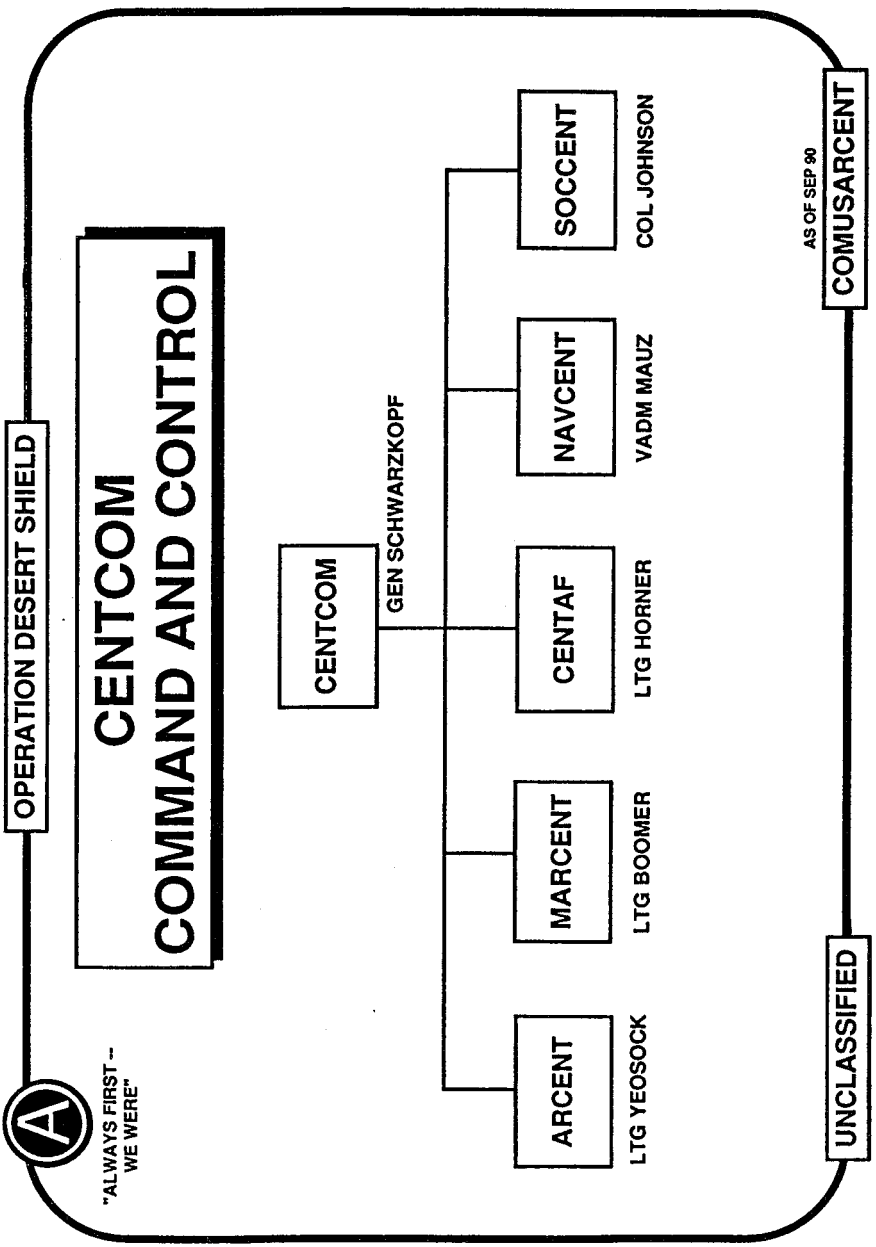

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
"ALWAYS FIRST -- WE WERE"
CENTCOM COMMAND AND CONTROL
CENTCOM
GEN SCHWARZKOPF
ARCENT
LTG YEOSOCK
MARCENT
LTG BOOMER
CENTAF
LTG HORNER
NAVCENT
VADM MAUZ
SOCCENT
COL JOHNSON
AS OF SEP 90
COMUSARCENT
UNCLASSIFIED

Figure 2.

organization was a fifth component, Special Operations Command, Central Command (SOCCENT), which held operational command of selected special operations forces from the separate services.

Within this general structure, the theater commander might assign executive agency or authority to a single component commander for performance of particular tasks. In this way, the commander of CENTAF was appointed Joint Forces Air Component commander to provide centralized direction to the theater air campaign.[23] The Army commander was given responsibility, among other things, to operate common-user seaports during Desert Shield and to exercise directive authority over rear-area terrain management and main supply route (MSR) priorities in the combat zone during Desert Storm.[24] The Army commander, in turn, assigned these responsibilities to one of his major subordinate commands, the 22d Support Command. Various grants of authority, or limits thereto, ordinarily went along with this sort of joint service responsibility. Also, within the general framework, forces from one component might be placed under the command of another, as the "Tiger Brigade" (the 1st Brigade of the 2d Armored Division deployed as the third ground maneuver brigade of the 1st Cavalry Division) was placed under operational command of the MARCENT commander for Operation Desert Storm.

The first phase of Operation Desert Shield, which lasted from 7 August 1990 until 8 November, consisted of the deployment of a joint military force to defend American and allied interests against Iraqi aggression, a force of sufficient strength adequate to enforce UN sanctions while defending the Arabian base (see figure 3). The Army's role consisted of building a viable ground combat force and a support structure sufficient to sustain, to various degrees, committed forces of all services. Both the Army combat contingent and theater support structure had to be built from scratch using forces from halfway around the world.

Schwarzkopf returned to Tampa in order to supervise personally the joint deployment. Such actions, however, are inherently decentralized. Senior officers managing each service's deployment are used to acting on their own, and Schwarzkopf found himself losing control. The Air Force, for example, deployed twice the number of F-15 and F-16 squadrons expected at the end of the first week. Thus, wrote Schwarzkopf, the requirements to bring in related support forces "tied up dozens of flights we had allocated for other units."[25] The XVIII Airborne Corps, to Schwarzkopf's irritation, led its deployment with

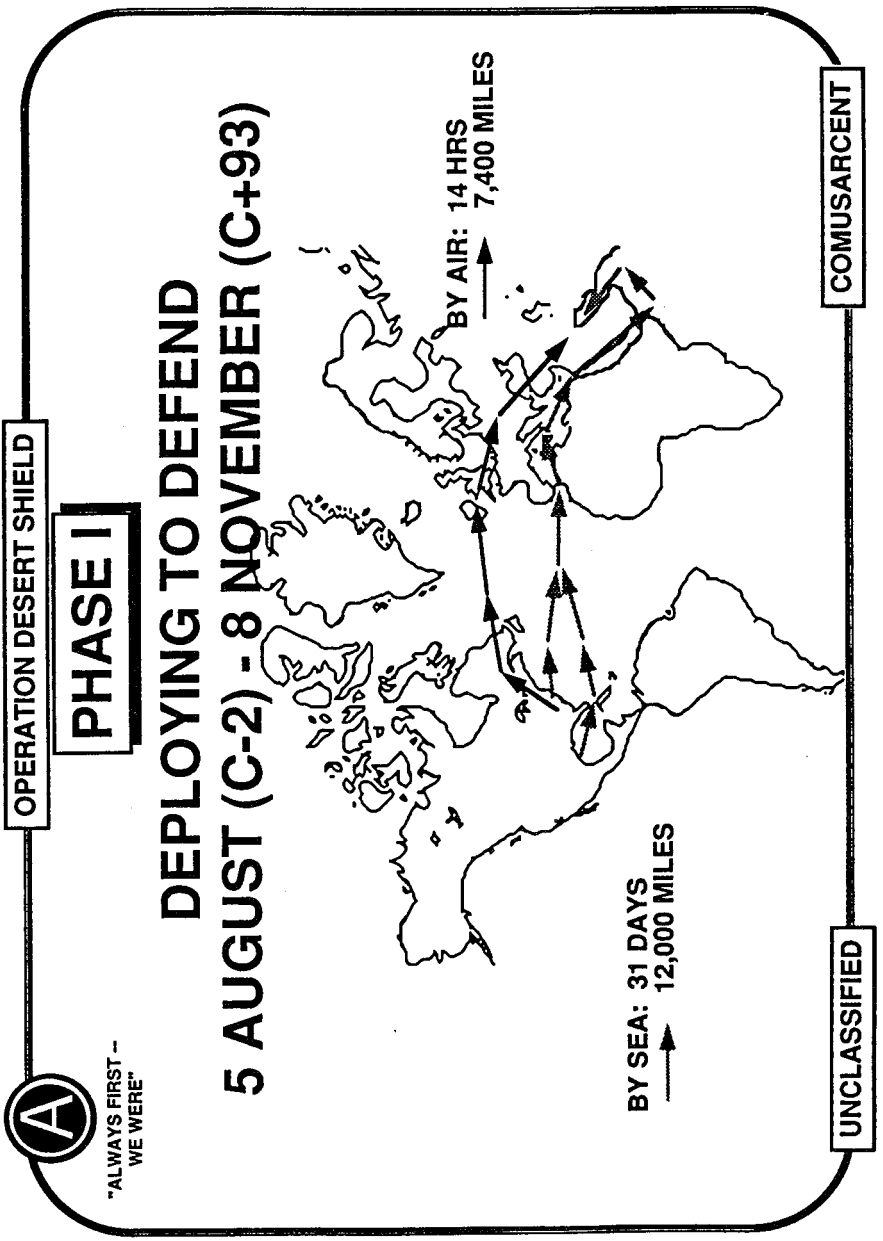

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
PHASE I
DEPLOYING TO DEFEND
5 AUGUST (C-2) - 8 NOVEMBER (C+93)
"ALWAYS FIRST -- WE WERE"
BY AIR: 14 HRS 7,400 MILES
BY SEA: 31 DAYS 12,000 MILES
COMUSARCENT
UNCLASSIFIED

Figure 3.

an advance corps headquarters at the expense of paratroopers from the corps' 82d Airborne Division.

Army forces had to be deployed and sustained in a hostile and comparatively undeveloped environment. They were to deter aggression and to defend and restore Saudi territory should the Iraqis attack. This entailed, at the start, creating a crisis action time-phased force deployment list (TPFDL)—a list of units prioritized for movement—to ship the XVIII Airborne Corps' force of four and two-thirds division-force equivalents: 82d Airborne Division; 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) plus the 12th Aviation Brigade from Europe; 24th Infantry Division (2 brigades) plus the 197th Infantry Brigade (Separate); 1st Cavalry Division (2 brigades) plus the 1st Brigade, 2d Armored Division (the "Tiger Brigade"); and the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment, with supporting corps combat support and combat service support elements.[26] The commitment of forces also involved designing and deploying an army echelon-above-corps headquarters and the theater support structure appropriate for the conditions obtaining in Southwest Asia.

To complicate the task further, the deployed force in the beginning would have to be built solely from available units of the Regular Army. It would take some time for the president to mobilize the necessary political support to call up and retain the Reserve forces that had always been assumed to make up a major part of Third Army and XVIII Airborne Corps. This political mobilization, which is a remarkable story in itself, took place simultaneously with the initial deployment of Army forces. Yet even when Reserve units were fully manned and equipped, they still required time to be brought into active federal service and prepared for overseas deployment. This further delayed getting them into the theater.

Meanwhile, the force build-up had to proceed. Some deployment requirements could be and were met by Reserve Component units that volunteered or were assigned annual training in support of the active force deployment (like the 1185th TTU). Some Reservists even deployed as individual volunteers to Saudi Arabia. As a consequence, the governing assumptions for the Third Army staff were in a constant state of flux for some time, and essential personnel arrived in theater under a wide variety of legal provisions and service obligations.[27]

One very positive characteristic of the U.S. military operations in Southwest Asia was the extent to which the Bush administration consistently maintained a clear understanding of both political and military objectives. On 8 August, the president announced the initial

deployment of U.S. forces to the Persian Gulf. At that time, he declared four national objectives: (1) to achieve the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, (2) to restore the legitimate government of Kuwait, (3) to defend Saudi Arabia, and (4) to protect American citizens abroad.[28] These political goals were translated that same day into three more limited military objectives by Secretary of Defense Cheney and by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell. These were (1) to deter further Iraqi aggression, (2) to improve Saudi Arabian military and defensive capabilities, and (3) to defend Saudi Arabia.[29] The difference between the two lists reflected the initial reliance on a variety of nonmilitary means to achieve the declared national goals. This pattern of formulating military objectives on the basis of policy announcements was maintained consistently through February 1991. Because such announcements were covered live by television's Cable News Network (CNN), the senior military chain of command could receive the commander in chief's guidance from the president himself, thus enhancing the coherence of the vision shared by all major commanders in the field.

By the time the initial policy directives had been issued, Yeosock and his small band of Army officers in Saudi Arabia had identified three immediate tasks for Third Army.[30] These were (1) to arrange for reception and onward movement of Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps forces (as yet *without a host-nation agreement or plan),* (2) to get the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to change its traditional way of doing business in order to respond to the urgency of the moment, and (3) to this end, to establish a national-level, integrated warfighting command and staff.[31] The first task involved preparing to receive Army and Marine forces and Air Force heavy equipment through sea and aerial ports at Al Jubayl, Dhahran, and Ad Dammam. The last two tasks led Yeosock to create the Coalition Coordination Communication and Integration Center (C3IC) (to be discussed hereafter).

On 8 August, the ARCENT staff was practically doubled, to fifty-two, with the arrival of an advanced command and control element. ARCENT established itself in the Royal Saudi Land Forces Building, while the CENTCOM staff moved into the Saudi Ministry of Defense. Four more key figures arrived on the 11th: the deputy commanding generals, Brigadier General (later Major General) Robert Frix (Operations) and Major General (later Lieutenant General) William G. ("Gus") Pagonis (Support); Brigadier General James W. Monroe, Army G4; and Colonel Gene Holloway, the G3 plans. Like Pagonis, Frix and Monroe had previous connections with Yeosock. Frix had been

Yeosock's chief of staff in the 1st Cavalry Division. Monroe, who like Yeosock had served in Saudi Arabia before (with USMTM), had been G4 of the Third Army before his promotion to brigadier general. Indeed, his family had not yet moved to his new post in Detroit. He simply moved back into his old job at a higher grade.

Jim Monroe, the Third Army logistic staff officer, presented an interesting contrast to Pagonis, the army's logistic executive. Pagonis is short, peripatetic, dynamic, a Greek fighting cock, albeit with a sense of humor that can remind an onlooker of the antihero on the television series "M*A*S*H," Corporal Klinger. Monroe, on the other hand, was a tall, handsome African-American, sober and deliberate, patient and soft-spoken—an excellent counterbalance to his more dynamic opposite number.

Another key member arrived at army headquarters on the 11th, Major General Paul Schwartz. Schwartz, then serving as deputy commander of I Corps at Fort Lewis, Washington, was another former PMSANG. He had been brought in to build the U.S. side of the C3IC, which he would direct, first, for Third Army, then, for Central Command.[32] He, like Pagonis, Monroe, and Frix, had been selected by Yeosock almost immediately upon receipt of his own alert. Yeosock knew Schwartz from Fort Hood, where both had been chiefs of staff for neighboring heavy divisions. Schwartz was also the officer who had become PMSANG when, within months of Yeosock's departure from the desert kingdom, his immediate successor did not work out with the Saudis. Schwartz, a tanker, was by disposition and sympathies an ideal choice to work the interalliance staff. He was a patient, low-key and humane man with a perpetual sheepish grin and the patience of Solomon. Most important, he had long experience working in Saudi Arabia and a great respect for Saudi culture. Frix, Pagonis, and Schwartz were Yeosock's principal deputies from the early days of Desert Shield.

The Third Army's forward CP arrived in two echelons on 14 and 23 August, bringing the headquarters to 266 officers and men (see figure 4). These men and women would undertake the twin tasks of creating the instrumentalities of coalition cooperation, organization, procedures, and host-nation support agreements, while performing more traditional echelon-above-corps functions of force generation, sustainment, and coordination with higher and adjacent headquarters.

A new Third Army G3, Brigadier General (later Major General) Steven Arnold, arrived on 7 September direct from Korea where he had been assistant division commander of the 2d Infantry Division. A

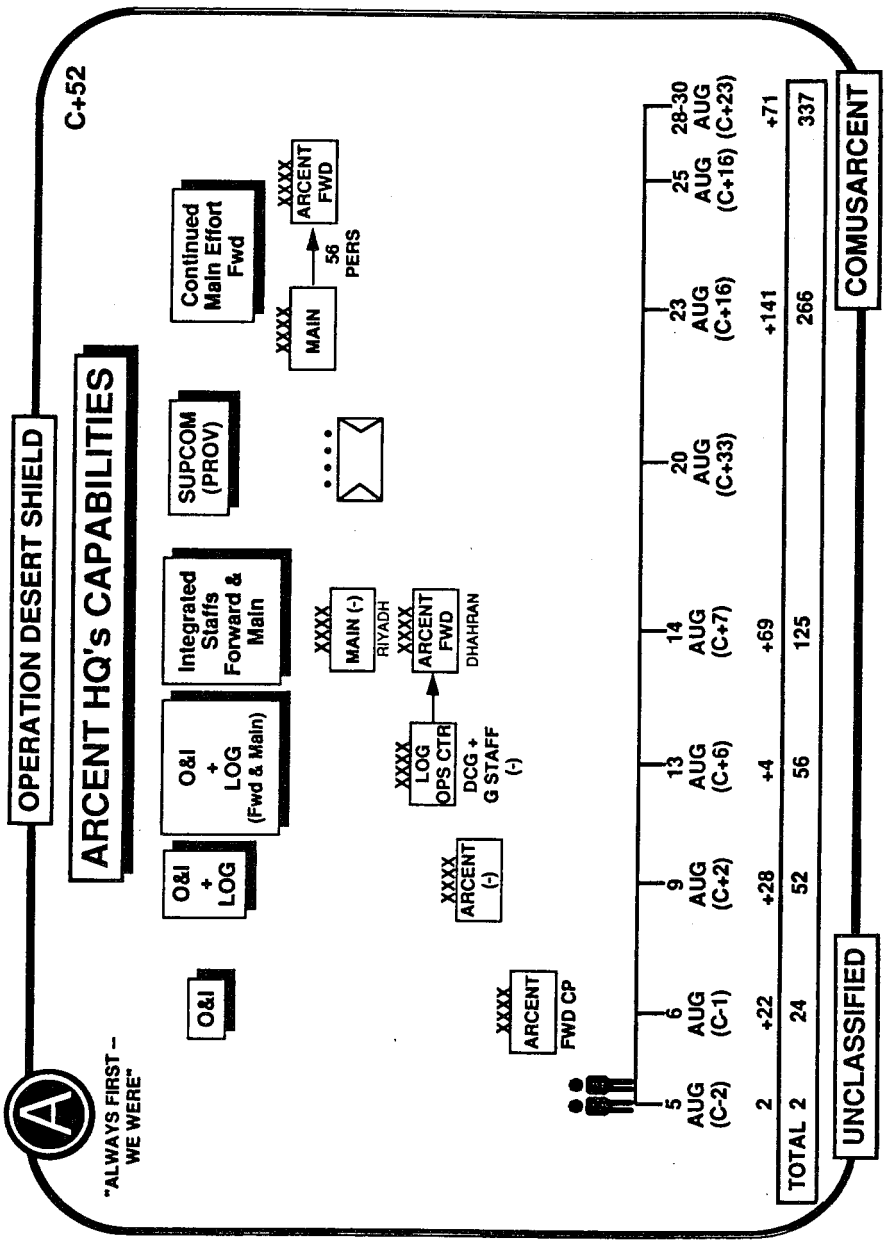

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
C+52
ARCENT HQ's CAPABILITIES
"ALWAYS FIRST – WE WERE"
O&I
O&I + LOG
O&I + LOG (Fwd & Main)
Integrated Staffs Forward & Main
SUPCOM (PROV)
Continued Main Effort Fwd
XXXX MAIN
56 PERS
XXXX ARCENT FWD
XXXX MAIN (-) RIYADH
XXXX ARCENT FWD DHAHRAN
XXXX LOG OPS CTR
DCG + G STAFF (-)
XXXX ARCENT (-)
XXXX ARCENT FWD CP
5 AUG (C-2)
6 AUG (C-1)
9 AUG (C+2)
13 AUG (C+6)
14 AUG (C+7)
20 AUG (C+33)
23 AUG (C+16)
25 AUG (C+16)
28-30 AUG (C+23)
2
+22
+28
+4
+69
+141
+71
TOTAL 2
24
52
56
125
266
337
UNCLASSIFIED
COMUSARCENT

Figure 4.

general officer G2, Brigadier General John Stewart, was assigned in December.[33] These two key officers were not known to Yeosock before their arrival, though each, in his own field, would be essential to the success ultimately enjoyed by ARCENT. The fact that Yeosock was prepared to allow the Army to assign him a G3 and G2 while he took particular care who would serve his logistics and coalition needs probably says a good deal about where the army commander saw the headquarters' immediate problems and how he saw his own role in the developing theater command structure. In the end, he was most fortunate all around in his command team.

In August and September, the immediate tasks at hand included developing an Army component force capable of achieving the assigned military objectives in concert with sister services and alliance forces. Third Army would have to build and deploy a force that could fight on arrival and sustain long-term operations in an environment of strategic lift constraints, as yet limited host-nation support, changing requirements, and acceptance of prudent risk.

The first and obvious decision, given the immediacy of the threat, was to bow to necessity and deploy combat forces early—especially critical combat multipliers such as aviation units, air defense systems, and antiarmor weapons—in order to buy time should hostilities commence. The experience of Internal Look was useful if not completely satisfying. Internal Look had addressed only combat force requirements. Much of the postexercise work of designing the necessary support structure and identifying specific forces remained to be done. Furthermore, much of the work had to be accomplished manually, as predeployment data had not been entered into the necessary computer data bases.[34]

The decision to bring in combat forces first was not without cost. It meant that forces in theater would have to maintain themselves under austere conditions for some time and that host-nation support, both donated and contracted, was a sine qua non to sustain the force for the immediate future. This decision was only possible because of the availability of supplies—particularly tentage, food, and ammunition—prepositioned on ships in the Indian Ocean. These prepositioned assets bought the time required to begin the flow of supplies from the host nation and the United States.[35] (See figure 5.)

The overall concept for the deployment of U.S. armed forces, of which Army forces were but a part, was characterized by General Powell on 11 September as consisting of three phases.[36] The phasing was designed to integrate the complementary capabilities of each arm,

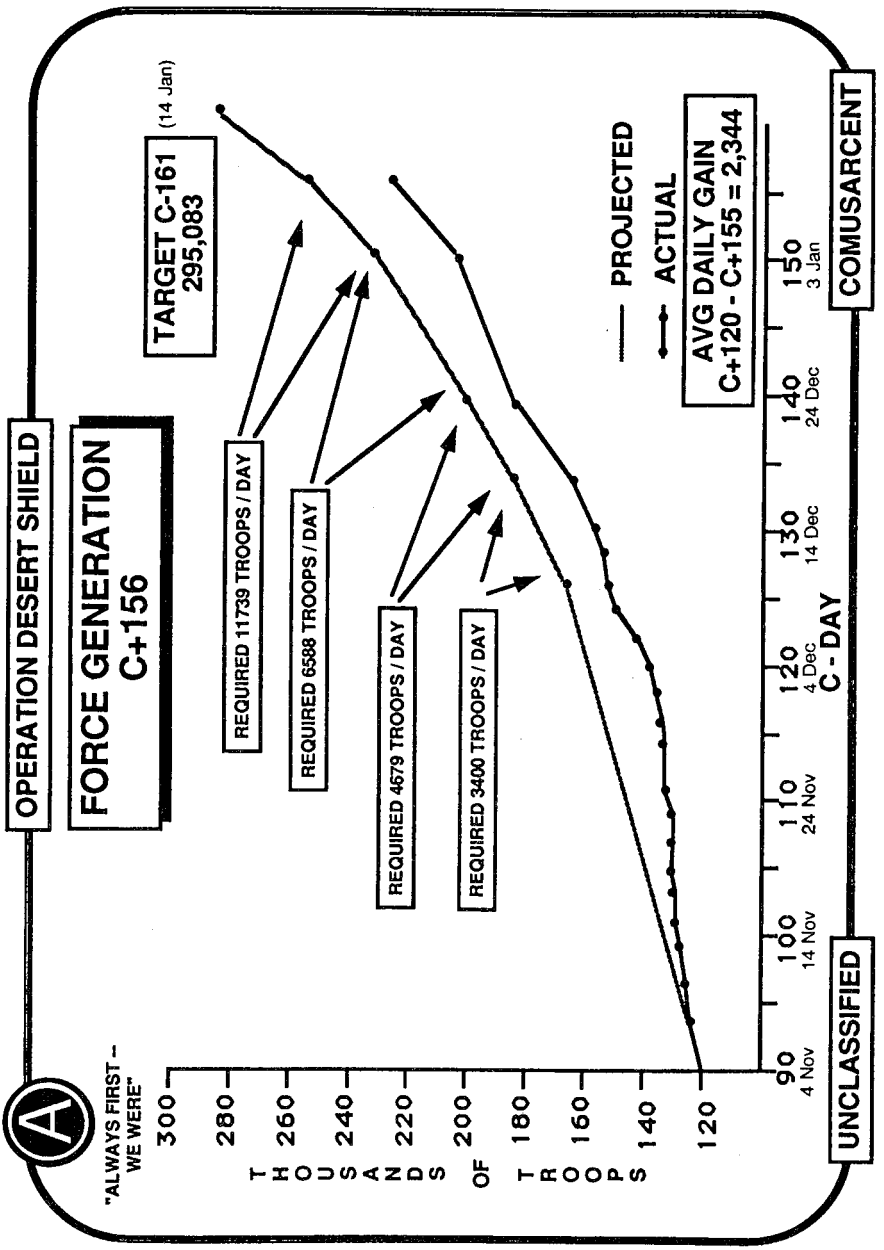

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
FORCE GENERATION
C+156
"ALWAYS FIRST – WE WERE"
TARGET C-161
295,083
(14 Jan)
REQUIRED 11739 TROOPS / DAY
REQUIRED 6588 TROOPS / DAY
REQUIRED 4679 TROOPS / DAY
REQUIRED 3400 TROOPS / DAY
PROJECTED
ACTUAL
AVG DAILY GAIN
C+120 - C+155 = 2,344
THOUSANDS OF TROOPS
300
280
260
240
220
200
180
160
140
120
90
4 Nov
100
14 Nov
110
24 Nov
120
4 Dec
130
14 Dec
140
24 Dec
150
3 Jan
C - DAY
UNCLASSIFIED
COMUSARCENT

Figure 5.

balancing great strategic mobility with staying power. Phase one, intended to provide an immediate deterrent force, consisted of the concentration of deployed naval forces organized around two carrier battle groups, the USS *Eisenhower* and USS *Independence* groups, off the Arabian Peninsula; deployment of Air Force air-superiority forces from the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing in the United States; and dispatch of light ground forces.[37] As early as 12 August, on the strength of these forces, President Bush directed the Navy to enforce an embargo on Iraqi oil shipments and most imports. On 25 August, the UN Security Council approved the use of force to enforce UN sanctions (Resolution 665). The first U.S. shots had been fired enforcing the naval blockade on 18 August.[38] It is important to remember that, throughout Desert Shield and Desert Storm, indeed long after, a naval conflict, separate but related to actions on the ground, was going on in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea approaches to Iraq and Jordan.

The second phase of the U.S. deployment, which commenced within days, brought in ground-attack aircraft, additional air-superiority fighters, and various maritime forces, specifically the 7th Marine Expeditionary Brigade (MEB) and, later, the 1st MEB, for which maritime prepositioning ships (MPS), with their heavy equipment and thirty days' supplies, were available in Diego Garcia and Guam.[39] The Marines prepositioned M60 main battle tanks—old but still highly effective models—provided the first true U.S. armored ground capability.

The two Marine Corps MPS completed off-loading on 2 and 5 September. The 82d Airborne finished its deployment on 9 September. It was joined by elements of the lead brigade task force of the 101st Airborne Division with its attack helicopters and elements of the 12th Aviation Brigade from Europe. The 101st Aviation Task Force arrived by strategic airlift, notwithstanding the high cost in airframes. This added the potent antiarmor combat power of the AH-64 attack helicopters to the deployed light forces. About the same time, the USS *Saratoga* Carrier Battle Group replaced the USS *Eisenhower*, and the USS *Kennedy* deployed to the Mediterranean with a third carrier battle group to support Central Command operations as required.

Finally, in phase three, the heavy ground, air, maritime, and sustainment forces required to ensure a successful defense of Saudi Arabia followed. Fast sealift ships (FSS) carrying the 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized), the Army's first heavy division to deploy, departed Savannah, Georgia, starting on 13 August, a week after the U.S. commitment. The first ship arrived in theater on the 27th.[40] (For a comparison between force generation in Desert Shield versus that in

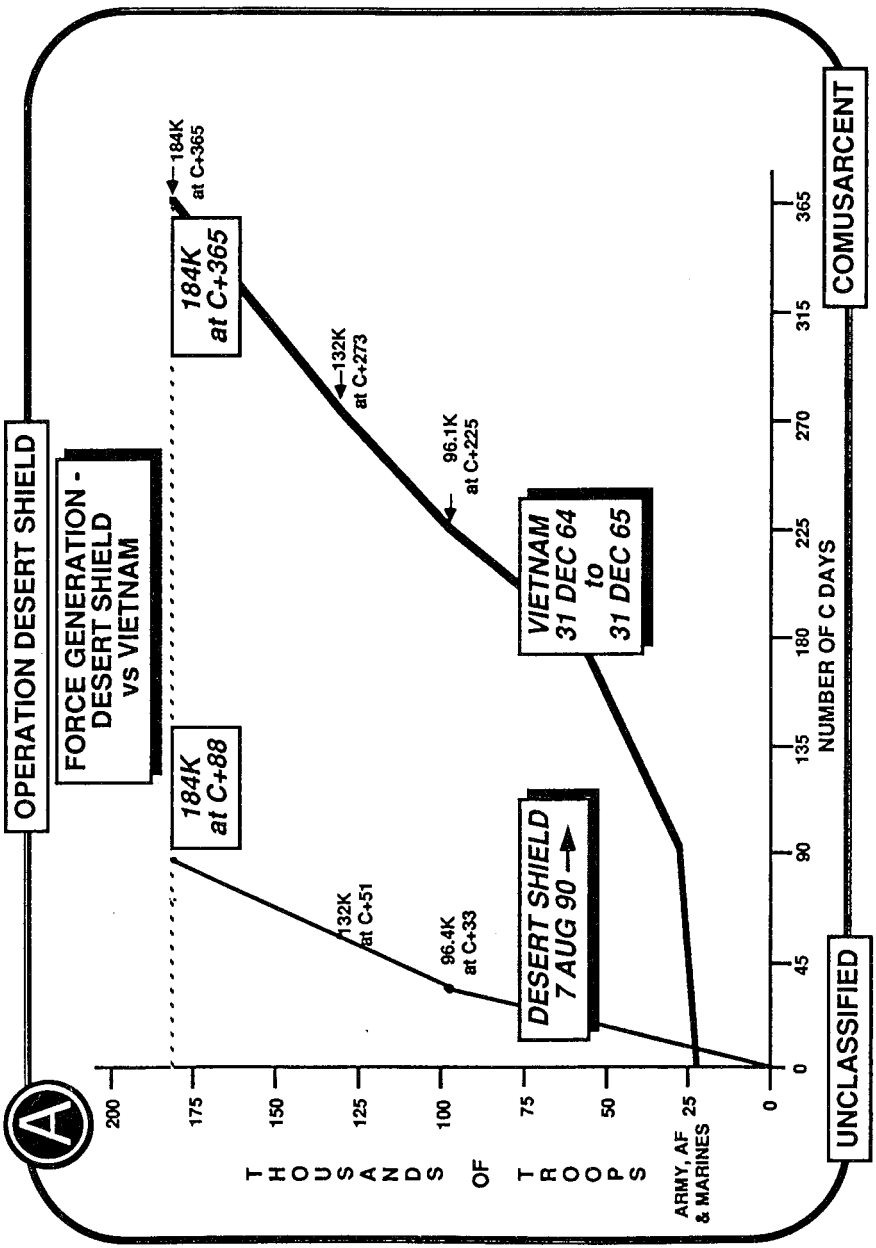

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
FORCE GENERATION - DESERT SHIELD vs VIETNAM
184K at C+88
184K at C+365
184K at C+365
132K at C+51
96.4K at C+33
132K at C+273
96.1K at C+225
DESERT SHIELD 7 AUG 90
VIETNAM 31 DEC 64 to 31 DEC 65
THOUSANDS OF TROOPS
ARMY, AF & MARINES
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
0
0
45
90
135
180
225
270
315
365
NUMBER OF C DAYS
COMUSARCENT
UNCLASSIFIED

Figure 6.

Vietnam, see figure 6.) The 4th MEB deployed from Camp Lejeune as a self-contained amphibious force the same day the 24th left Savannah. It arrived by 16 September and presented a continuous amphibious threat to the Iraqi seaward flank. The 24th Division completed its deployment on 25 September with the arrival of the attached 197th Infantry Brigade (Separate).[41] The 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) completed its movement on 7 October; the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment, on 14 October; and the 1st Cavalry Division closed on 25 October.[42] These heavy forces provided the theater commander with the capability not only to defend but to counterattack in the increasingly less likely event of an Iraqi offensive against Saudi Arabia.

The Army's deployment actions had been begun upon President Bush's decision to commit U.S. forces. Staff officers used the Draft ARCENT OPLAN 1002-90 TPFDD (time-phased force and deployment data) created in conjunction with the Internal Look exercise as a starting point (four and two-thirds division force equivalents [DFE] or 253,000 personnel). The task of developing a revised force list was assumed by the Forces Command staff headed by its chief of staff, Major General Pete Taylor. Taylor was the pivotal figure in the force deployment "negotiations," acting as deputy commander in chief of Forces Command when dealing with Central Command, and as ARCENT's deputy commander (Rear) when responding to Third Army.[43] As Forces Command's chief of staff, he had visibility over all available U.S. Army active and Reserve Component units. He drove the Forces Command staff and the U.S. Transportation Command (TRANSCOM) to draft various force design alternatives against available transportation assets in order to achieve a reasonably balanced, if austere, C + 90 deployed force.[44]

The assumptions that governed the force design process initially were that the force would have to be capable of fighting on arrival and also of conducting long-term sustained operations.[45] This meant the Army package would contain not only combat elements addressed in Internal Look but also a supporting force capable of meeting the specific needs of a mature theater in Southwest Asia. These assumptions had to be modified almost immediately to accommodate delays and limitations on Reserve Component mobilization, limits in strategic lift, and guidance that only minimum-essential forces were to be deployed.

General Powell was quoted as stating, with regard to Reserve Component mobilization, that the principle of minimum-essential force would be exceeded when one soldier got on CNN to complain of

not being usefully employed.[46] (See figure 7.) This Army concern for the public perception of the legitimacy of any need to mobilize was indicative of the tentative nature of the initial U.S. commitment to military action. It also was clear evidence of the pervasive presence of Ted Turner's revolutionary all-news network. Meanwhile, the political leadership worked to build a positive response on the part of the American people.

Third Army had long based its war plans on the assumption that Reserve Component forces would be available immediately for any large-scale deployment. This was the basis of the Total Force Concept, a plan, attributed to General Creighton Abrams following the Vietnam War, to avoid commitment of active forces without some sort of mobilization of the public.[47] The concept was politically attractive, not just to the post-Vietnam-era Army but to a Congress concerned about "Imperial Presidencies." What the plan failed to take into account was the likely delay in mobilization in any case short of outright attack on American forces or territory. Such a delay would be the result of policy makers' proper concern with the full consideration of the available alternatives and public response, as well as the variable readiness of various Reserve (and Regular) Component units. The flaw in the concept was that events might not wait upon the convenience of defense decision makers.

Such was the case in August 1990. Deployment of Regular units was well under way before the president called up the first increment of Reserve Component forces. Had it been politically desirable, deployment of the two affected roundout brigades for the 24th Division and 1st Cavalry Division might have been delayed to the end of the XVIII Corps deployment as anticipated in the Internal Look planning. However, the Department of Defense decided to forgo calling any Army combat units in the first increment of Reserve Component activations.[48] It was decided, instead, to use two Regular units more immediately available, and not subject to loss in 90 days (or 180 with an extension), to roundout the two two-brigade divisions. Even in the case of combat support and combat service support units that were called, the need for immediate deployment also affected how Third Army structured its own echelon-above-corps forces, particularly the army headquarters and its theater support organization.

On 15 August, the secretary of defense requested that the president employ his authority to call up the selected Reserves.[49] The following day, Pentagon planners prepared advice for the president about the exercise of his authority to activate Reserve forces. Internal Look assumptions had presumed immediate use of the full 200,000-

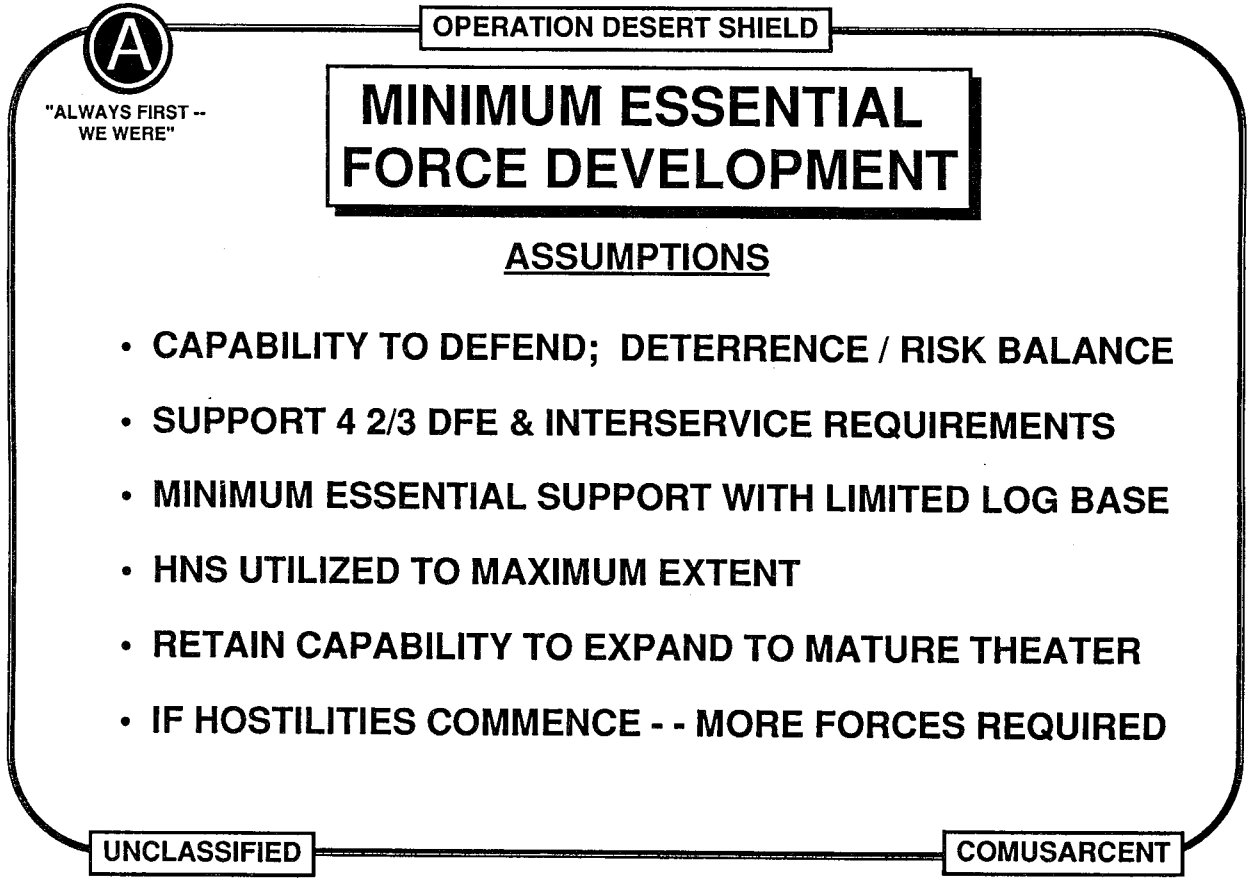

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
"ALWAYS FIRST -- WE WERE"
MINIMUM ESSENTIAL FORCE DEVELOPMENT
ASSUMPTIONS
• CAPABILITY TO DEFEND; DETERRENCE / RISK BALANCE
• SUPPORT 4 2/3 DFE & INTERSERVICE REQUIREMENTS
• MINIMUM ESSENTIAL SUPPORT WITH LIMITED LOG BASE
• HNS UTILIZED TO MAXIMUM EXTENT
• RETAIN CAPABILITY TO EXPAND TO MATURE THEATER
• IF HOSTILITIES COMMENCE - - MORE FORCES REQUIRED
UNCLASSIFIED
COMUSARCENT

Figure 7.

man presidential call-up authority under Title 10, United States Code, Section 673b. The Department of the Army estimated a requirement for 33,772 Reservists by 31 August, assuming combat operations had not begun, and 88,000 if hostilities commenced.[50] On 22 August, the president informed the leaders of Congress that he had authorized the secretary of defense to exercise his authority under 673b. On the 23d, Secretary Cheney authorized the Army to order to active duty no more than 25,000 members of the Army Selected Reserve for the purpose of providing combat support and combat service support.[51] The other services were also limited in their authority, although these limits may have had as much to do with the rate at which the active services could absorb Reserve soldiers as with any reluctance to mobilize the Reserves in the long term.

In October, concern about "minimum essential force" was ultimately translated into a requirement that theater-deployed force levels not exceed 250,000 (a limit abandoned with introduction of the offensive capability of a second corps in November).[52] This limit was borne primarily by the Army, first, because it was the most manpower-intensive service; and second, because it was the largest, last, and slowest deploying component. Thus, the Army offered more opportunities for modification within the deployment sequence. The Army also benefited more from host-nation support, since it was responsible otherwise for providing much of the theater support for all deployed forces.

Initial Army deployment efforts focused on getting the XVIII Corps forces lined up to come into theater. Once that seemed to be on track in early September, attention turned to the echelon-above-corps structure. Some decisions had already been made by that date, among them the decision to form a provisional theater support command rather than to bring in the theater army area command (TAAC) called for in prewar plans. To begin with, there was a lack of sufficient strategic lift to transport the total doctrinal force.[53] Starting on 15 August and reporting out on the 26th, Headquarters, Forces Command, produced a revised force structure for a 151,000-man Army force. This was still too large an increment to arrive by C+90, so a second force structure design was forwarded to Saudi Arabia on 4 September. This force called for a ceiling of 142,000, down from 220,000. The creation of this force rested upon a number of assumptions, one being that the new numbers represented "a minimum essential force that hedges toward combat multipliers and accepts risk in selected support functions."[54] Heavy combat multipliers, field artillery, air defense artillery, chemical, and combat

engineers were retained because of the time involved in their deployment. It was assumed lighter elements, for example intelligence units, could be called forward with dispatch. The corps support command was reduced in this plan to 12,500 from 20,000 and the theater support command to 10,400 from 25,000. Much of the balance was to be made up by host-nation support, the remainder by risk and a less than desirable sustainment and transportation capability. Troops would bear part of the cost involved in an austere desert environment.

General Edwin Burba's personal assessment was that this structure was "a prudent course with acceptable risk." "All must understand though," he continued, "at the first major indicator of an enemy offensive, we must quickly pile on combat service support with air and fast sealift."[55] In his reply, General Schwarzkopf seemed to agree. He pointed to the theater's dependence on host-nation support that permitted economies during the deterrent phase but noted that these economies might rapidly disappear should hostilities break out—especially given the Saudi dependence on third nation workers and contractors.[56]

Whatever his fears, Schwarzkopf in early October established a ceiling on Army end strength at 140,000.[57] Certain shortcomings, which became evident after the November build-up decision, and which were criticized after the fact, are understandable only when considered under the terms of reference in which the original trade-offs were made. In August and September, the mission assigned Third Army was to create a force capable of deterrence and defense and to do so with the minimum essential forces under a ceiling fixed largely by limits on strategic transport capability. A defensive force requires a comparatively small logistic base and, in particular, shorter logistic land legs than a mechanized and aerial force designed for offensive operations. It also requires a less robust intelligence structure, since most of the ground to be fought over is in one's own hands.

In early October, General Yeosock reported to General Carl Vuono, Army Chief of Staff, and Michael Stone, Secretary of the Army, that Third Army headquarters had only 346 of the anticipated 825 officers and enlisted personnel called for by the table of organization and equipment. (See figure 8.) The Army force had been reduced to 141,000 troops to be deployed, with 49,000 on call against contingencies. The formations-above-division to division force ratio was 1:1, compared to a design ratio of 2:1 in a mature theater. All this had been done by a combination of accepting prudent risk, by trading off housekeeping and base support activities (thus increasing soldier austerity), and by using direct and contracted host-nation support—

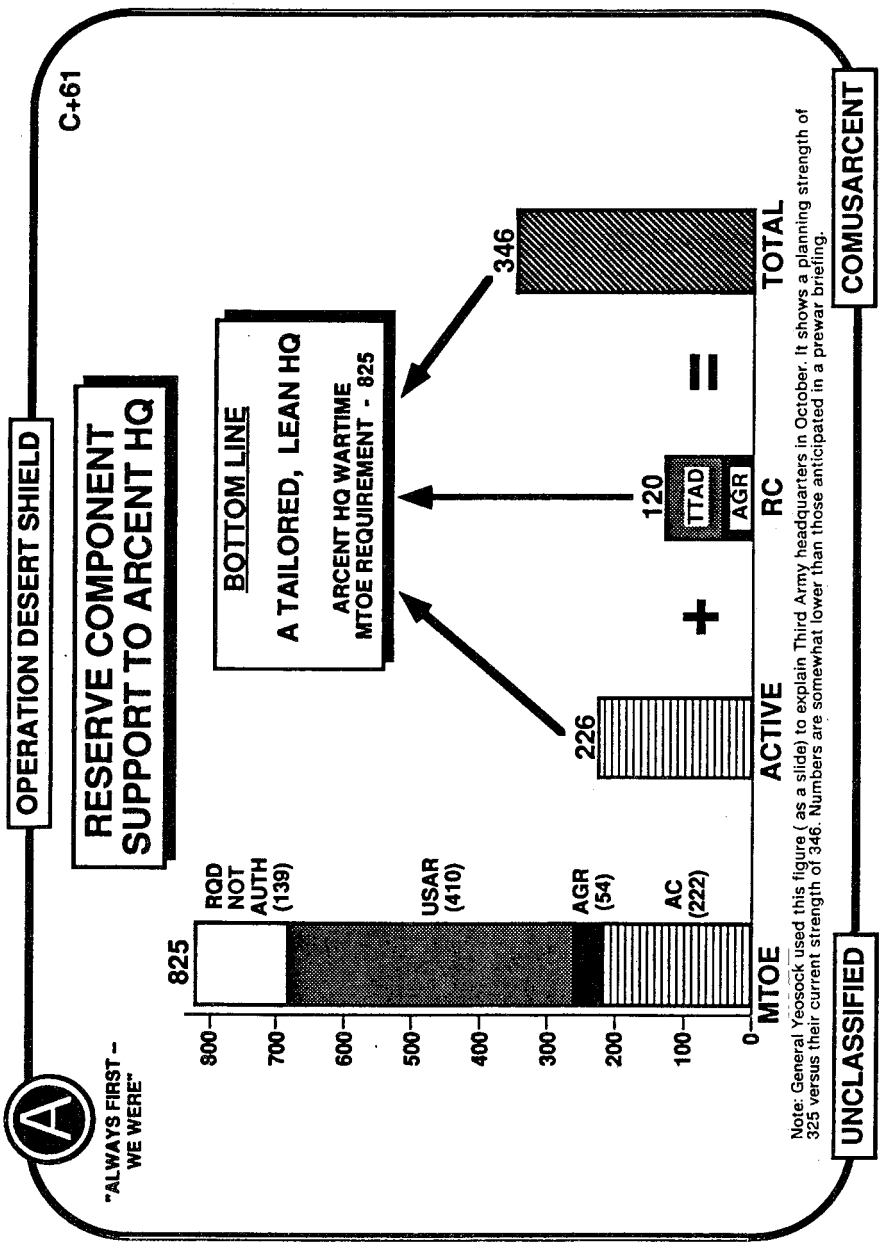

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
C+61
"ALWAYS FIRST – WE WERE"
RESERVE COMPONENT SUPPORT TO ARCENT HQ
BOTTOM LINE
A TAILORED, LEAN HQ
ARCENT HQ WARTIME MTOE REQUIREMENT - 825
825
RQD NOT AUTH (139)
USAR (410)
AGR (54)
AC (222)
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
MTOE
226
ACTIVE
+
120
ITAD
AGR
RC
=
346
TOTAL
Note: General Yeosock used this figure (as a slide) to explain Third Army headquarters in October. It shows a planning strength of 325 versus their current strength of 346. Numbers are somewhat lower than those anticipated in a prewar briefing.
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Figure 8.

particularly for water, fuel, and transportation—and other "work arounds" like reliance on out-of-theater depot maintenance support.[58] Among the limitations thus accepted was a force that was essentially not deployable out of its coastal sector—a condition acceptable so long as the mission was deterrence and defense but one that would defer a transportation and infrastructure cost if higher powers wanted to use the forces already deployed to do something else.

In November, Third Army would be called upon not only to bring on a second corps but to make up for legitimate economies accepted in the fall for quite understandable reasons. Third Army also had to create a significantly different type of echelon-above-corps structure, one for which the Army as a whole had not had to prepare when the principal design contingency was a NATO or Korean defense. It had to re-create itself into an army designed for an operational and strategic offensive.

Meanwhile, the army-level logistic organization designed to back up the corps support command and sustain echelon-above-corps units could be, and was, reduced to some extent by charging many of its duties to the already austere corps support command.[59] Some theater support structure was still required to operate ports of debarkation and to perform the theater army functions of operating the theater communications zone, integrating host-nation support, and supporting other services according to various Department of Defense directives. Third Army headquarters bore much of the burden of coordinating directly with the host government for host-nation support. The idea that XVIII Corps could have simply picked up the echelon-above-corps functions and dispensed with the army-level headquarters while giving full attention to operational matters does not seem realistic, even in the circumstances of Desert Shield.[60]

Most of the structural cuts accepted in the fall were borne in the sustainment area by limitations on the introduction of intermediate headquarters for echelons-above-corps functional commands and by combining theater-level and corps functions where possible.[61] From 15 August until 9 October, the ARCENT force structure was in a constant state of flux as guidance on minimum essential force deployment, authority to mobilize Reserve Components, and strategic lift constraints were all balanced against a notional C+90 force.

It was known at the outset that much of the absent support structure could be compensated for by host-nation support, but the ability of the host nation to supply support, or perhaps more important, the limits on this ability, was by no means immediately

apparent to either Third Army planners or the host-nation government. No structure existed to tap it. This meant that such assumptions, cast into the force design process, carried a certain amount of risk, particularly given lead times required to acquire and deploy various specialist units.

General Yeosock designed his own echelon of command according to some basic principles.[62] First, he recognized the need to emphasize the early introduction of combat forces. Accepting implicitly the risk of diminished capacity, he brought in army-level units only at the last minute in order to ensure they were present when he absolutely required them and not a minute sooner. Second, he decided to minimize the creation of army-level functional commands (with their resultant layering of staffs) by providing that, so long as possible, army-level units would be commanded by his deputy commanding generals, using the Third Army staff. Functional commands would be established only when the task at hand exceeded in complexity the ability of the DCGs to perform this function. Even then, Yeosock would resist introducing general officer commanders and their associated staffs unless absolutely necessary. He recognized that those functions that were for the most part internal to the army echelon could often be performed adequately by incumbents already on the ground. For example, Colonel Chuck Sutten, commander of the 11th Signal Brigade, was given a much reduced functional command staff—part of the normal 6th Signal Command—and made its commander. A similar arrangement was made with the Medical Command (MEDCOM), with Colonel (Dr.) D. G. Tsoulos serving as both ARCENT surgeon and MEDCOM commander. (See figure 9.)

General Pagonis, as deputy commanding general (logistics), established an ARCENT forward headquarters at Dhahran. Initially, the executive functions of theater sustainment were performed under Pagonis' direction by the 7th Transportation Group, commanded by Colonel Dave Whaley, and a Provisional Area Support Group established in Dhahran.[63] Pagonis remained a deputy commanding general and assumed command of a provisional, later, the 22d Support Command, on 19 August, when the logistic structure grew beyond that capable of direction by the combined organization. Upon giving up command of his group, Whaley moved to the Support Command (Provisional) staff as an assistant commander, there to perform the role doctrinally assigned to a commander of a theater transportation command. (See figure 10.)

There was another reason to operate this way. In the absence of a Status of Forces Agreement and facilities utilization agreements,

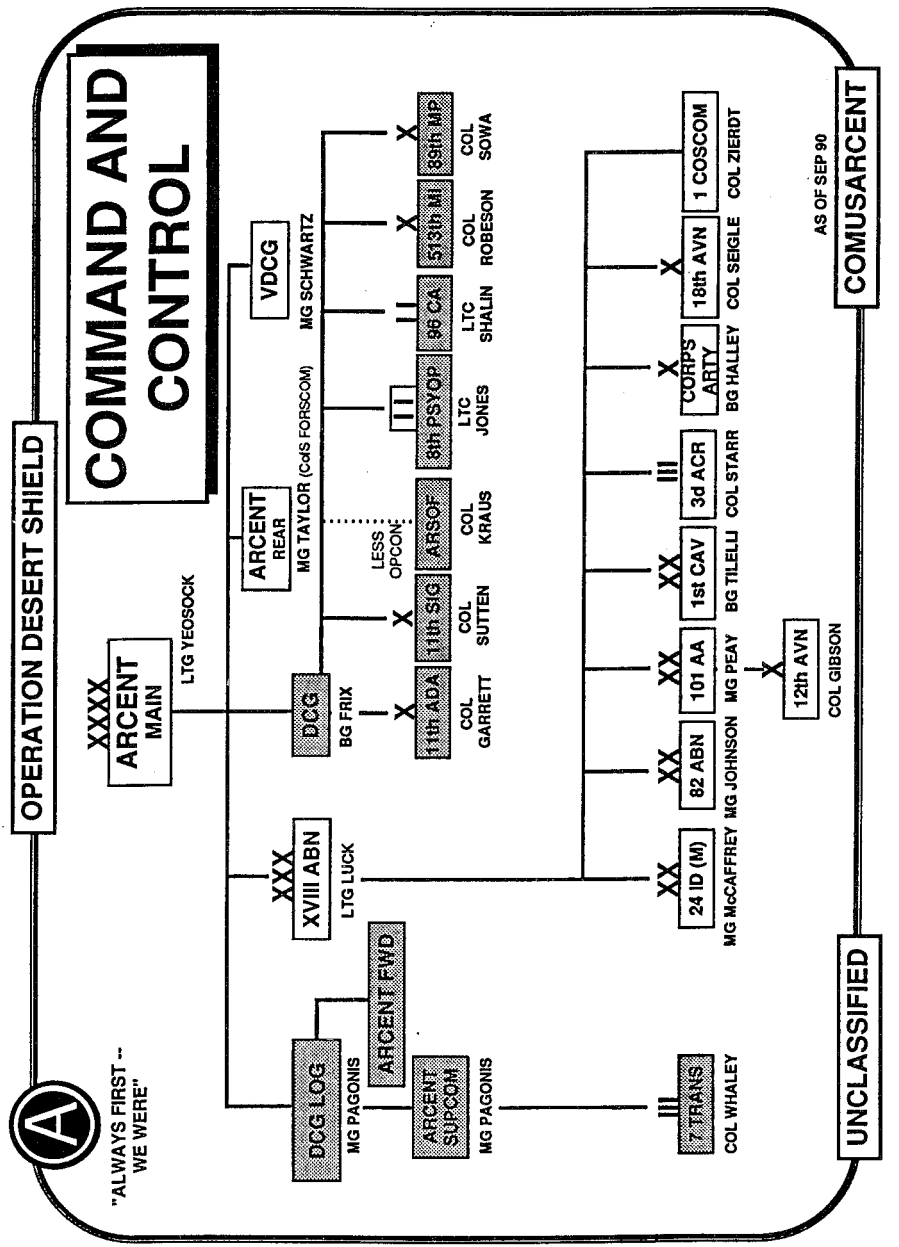

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
COMMAND AND CONTROL
"ALWAYS FIRST -- WE WERE"
XXXX ARCENT MAIN
LTG YEOSOCK
ARCENT REAR
MG TAYLOR (CdS FORSCOM)
VDCG
MG SCHWARTZ
DCG
BG FRIX
LESS OPCON
XVIII ABN
LTG LUCK
11th ADA
COL GARRETT
11th SIG
COL SUTTEN
ARSOF
COL KRAUS
8th PSYOP
LTC JONES
96 CA
LTC SHALIN
513th MI
COL ROBESON
89th MP
COL SOWA
DCG LOG
MG PAGONIS
ARCENT FWD
ARCENT SUPCOM
MG PAGONIS
7 TRANS
COL WHALEY
24 ID (M)
MG McCAFFREY
82 ABN
MG JOHNSON
101 AA
MG PEAY
1st CAV
BG TILELLI
3d ACR
COL STARR
CORPS ARTY
BG HALLEY
18th AVN
COL SEIGLE
1 COSCOM
COL ZIERDT
12th AVN
COL GIBSON
AS OF SEP 90
COMUSARCENT
UNCLASSIFIED

Figure 9.

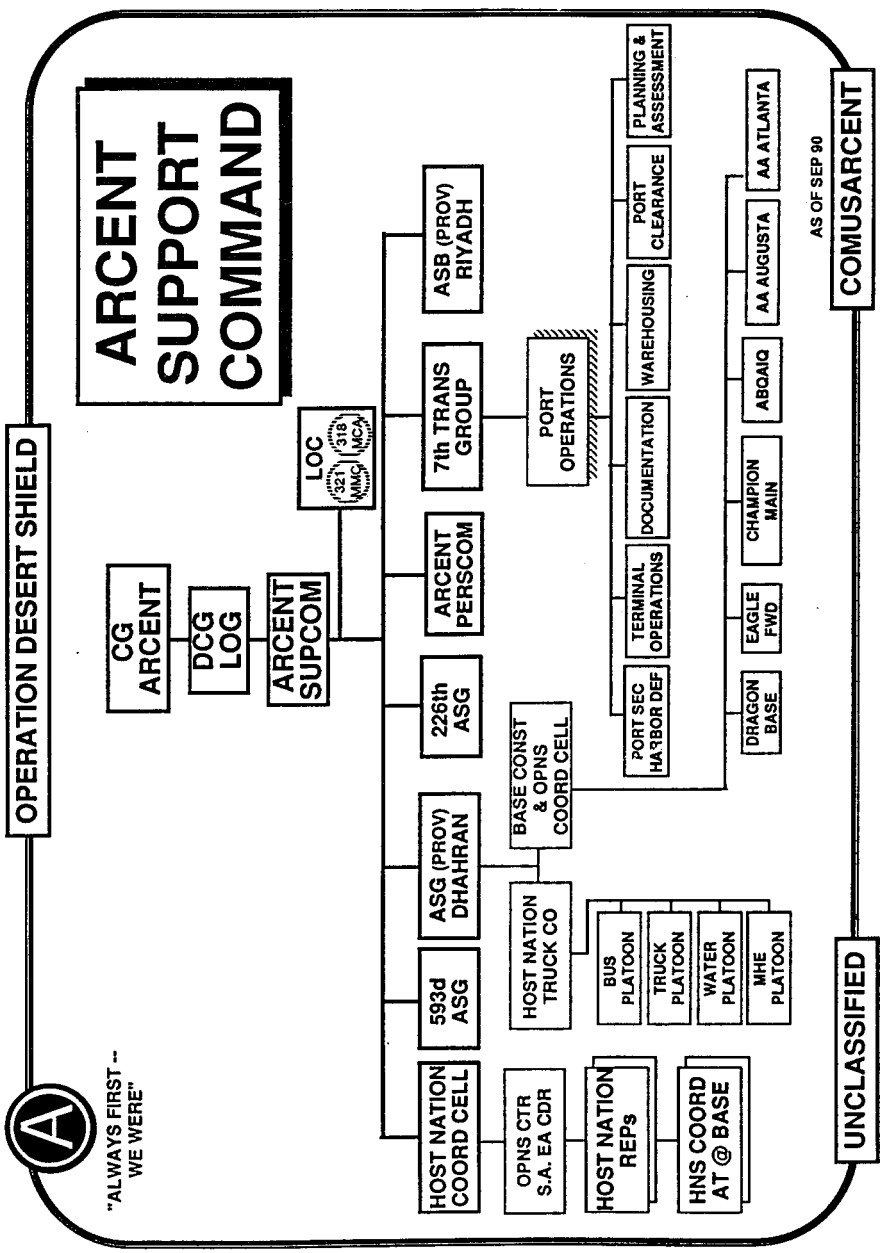

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD
"ALWAYS FIRST -- WE WERE"
ARCENT SUPPORT COMMAND
CG ARCENT
DCG LOG
ARCENT SUPCOM
LOC
321 MMC
318 MCA
226th ASG
ARCENT PERSCOM
7th TRANS GROUP
ASB (PROV) RIYADH
PORT OPERATIONS
PORT SEC HARBOR DEF
TERMINAL OPERATIONS
DOCUMENTATION
WAREHOUSING
PORT CLEARANCE
PLANNING & ASSESSMENT
DRAGON BASE
EAGLE FWD
CHAMPION MAIN
ABQAIQ
AA AUGUSTA
AA ATLANTA
AS OF SEP 90
HOST NATION COORD CELL
593d ASG
ASG (PROV) DHAHRAN
BASE CONST & OPNS COORD CELL
OPNS CTR S.A. EA CDR
HOST NATION TRUCK CO
BUS PLATOON
TRUCK PLATOON
WATER PLATOON
MHE PLATOON
HOST NATION REPs
HNS COORD AT @ BASE
UNCLASSIFIED
COMUSARCENT

Figure 10.

numerous individual understandings had to be achieved immediately with the host-nation authorities and local contractors just to introduce U.S. forces. Most agreements were made on-site and as personal undertakings. It was not until 17 October that the Department of Defense dispatched a team to negotiate a variety of host-nation support agreements, principally for fuel, water, food, transportation, and shelter.[64] Officers of the Support Command had been making agreements and receiving extensive support almost since arrival. Meanwhile, it was essential that personnel changes be kept to a minimum to ensure the continuity of these agreements. A theater-support agency had been necessary as soon as forces began to enter the theater, and one was put together on an ad hoc basis under the pressures of the moment. By the time limited authority existed to call up Reservists, a nascent theater support structure was already in place.[65]

The first Central Command operations order was issued on 10 August.[66] The order identified a ground threat of five Iraqi divisions in Kuwait. The mission statement provided that "USCENTCOM forces will deploy to the area of operations and take actions in concert with host-nation forces, friendly regional forces, and other allies to defend against an Iraqi attack into Saudi Arabia and be prepared to conduct other operations as directed."[67] The plan called for a three-phase operation. Phase I called for deployment to deter an Iraqi attack, the conduct of combined training, preparations for defense, and exercises with allied forces in theater. Phase II, which would occur if deterrence failed, involved the defense of the Arabian Peninsula against Iraqi attack, with particular regard to the critical air and sea ports at Al Jubayl, Ad Dammam, and Dhahran. Phase III provided for a counterattack to restore the integrity of the Saudi border. The order indicated that Central Command forces would remain organized as components, the single major exception being SOCCENT, under whose operational control the service components would place certain of their special warfare forces. This reservation of operational command of special operations forces (SOF) to theater level was a normal doctrinal practice reflecting the strategic nature of many SOF actions.

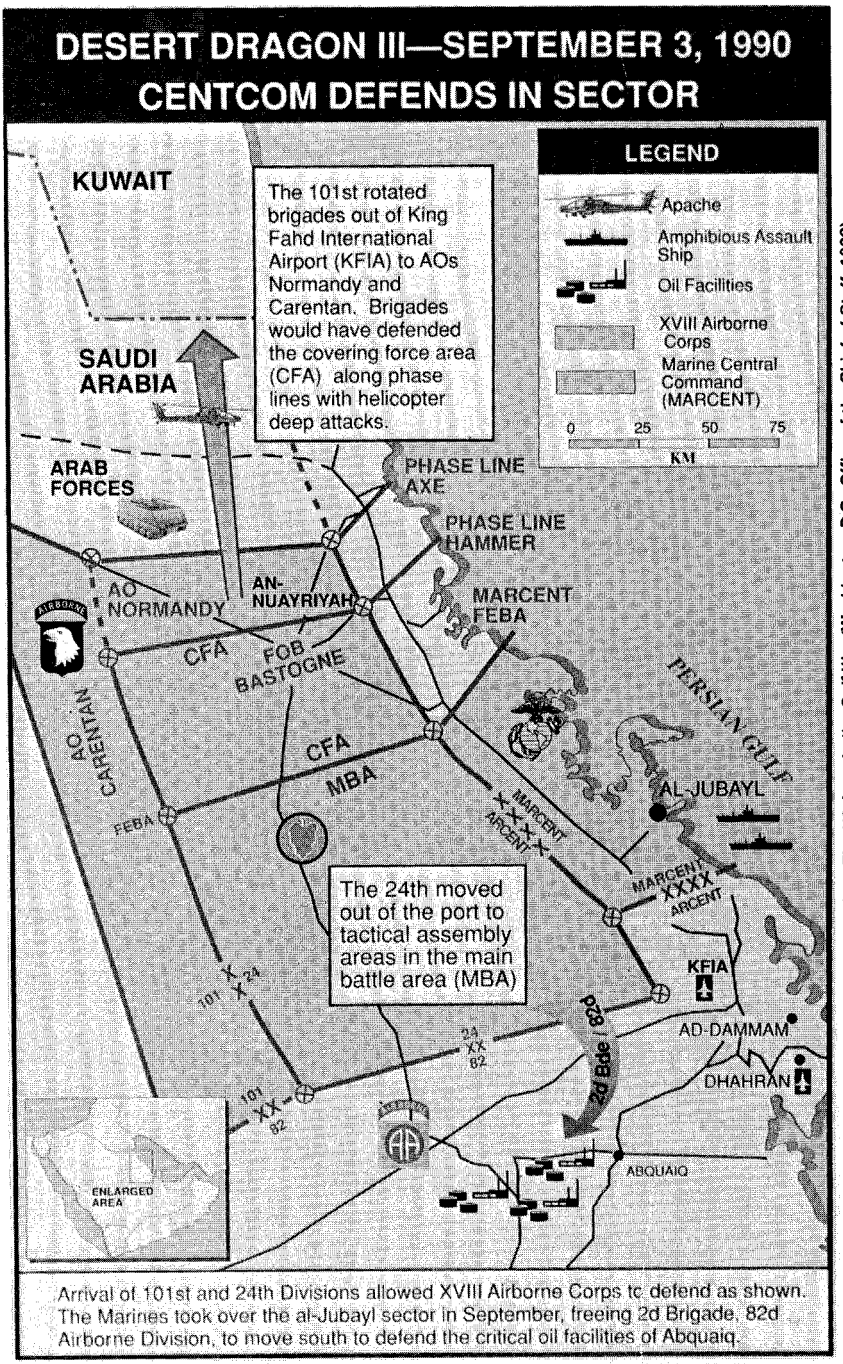
The Central Command Army component was to deploy designated subordinate forces in order to support or implement deterrent measures as required, to be prepared to defend the critical oil and port facilities in the vicinity of Dhahran, to attrit and delay advanced enemy forces as far forward as possible, and when directed, to redeploy and defend in sector to protect the critical petroleum facilities in the vicinity of Abqaiq.[68] Other selected taskings involved commanding

(less operational control) selected Army special operations forces (psychological operations and civil affairs forces excepted); conducting psychological and civil affairs operations; acting as Central Command executive agent for civil affairs and as coordinating authority for military psychological operations to include joint planning; operating common user seaports; providing combat support and combat service support in accordance with interservice agreements; conducting enemy prisoner of war operations; and supporting noncombatant evacuation operations as required. ARCENT was also to provide a brigade-sized theater reserve by C+55 and be prepared to conduct counteroffensive operations to restore the integrity of Saudi Arabian territory.

ARCENT Operations Order (OPORD) 001 was issued on 22 August and generally followed the CENTCOM order and the Internal Look concept of operations.[69] Two more Desert Shield operations orders would be issued by ARCENT: 002 in October and 003 in December.[70] Each reflected a new stage in the development of U.S. capabilities. The first was directed at covering the initial force deployment and reflected the paucity of forces that would exist for some time. The October order reflected a more robust force after the deployment of the XVIII Airborne Corps. OPORD 003 incorporated VII Corps into the defensive scheme following the president's 8 November announcement of the corps deployment.

OPORD 001 envisioned an enclave defense behind the Saudi and Gulf Cooperation Council forces that were securing key port facilities. The main purpose of the defense was deterrence. OPORD 002 provided for a defense-in-depth as heavy forces arrived. ARCENT would assume a zone alongside a MARCENT force, in a position behind the Arab-Islamic Forces and forward of the ports and oil facilities at Abqaiq. The XVIII Airborne Corps was to screen forward with the 101st Air Assault Division and the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment and defend in-depth with the 24th Infantry Division and 1st Cavalry Divisions abreast, while the 82d Airborne Division secured the port and oil facilities.[71] (See map 3.) Contingency plans for the defense of Riyadh were added to the base plan. The VII Corps Desert Shield Order (003) called for a defense by two corps abreast and referred only vaguely to follow-on operations. (Desert Storm planning was taking place separately but simultaneously.)

All the while, the U.S. build-up had progressed steadily. Army forces had begun to deploy to Saudi Arabia on 8 August. The first troops to arrive had been the forward command post of the XVIII Airborne Corps, which arrived at Dhahran on the 9th, with troops



Source: Brigadier General Robert Scales et al., *Certain Victory: The US Army in the Gulf War* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Staff, 1993).

Map 3.

from the division ready brigade of the 82d Airborne Division.[72] The rapid deployment of these lightly armed troops, while risky in terms of effective fighting power against a heavily armored force, enabled the United States to make a clear demonstration of national intent in the hope that Iraq would be deterred from any further advance to the south. The first plane was guided to its parking slot by the ARCENT commander himself, as there was no existing base structure to receive them. These Army ground forces were accompanied and followed by significant air, naval, and Marine forces.

In August, all Third Army efforts had been directed toward the build-up of a viable combat force under command of the XVIII Airborne Corps. The Third Army commander saw his principal task as the generation and sustainment of forces with which the corps would fight any subsequent battle. The 82d Airborne Division continued to deploy forces through Dhahran and, on 12 August, established a forward operational base at Al Jubayl, the port through which the Marine forces would enter the theater. Army-level units also began to arrive.

On 14 August, the 2d Brigade of the 82d Airborne Division (the division ready brigade) completed its deployment. It was accompanied by one battalion of AH-64 attack helicopters from the 82d Aviation Brigade, which had become operational the day before. The same day, the commander of the 11th Signal Brigade entered the theater and began to establish a theater army communications network utilizing both Saudi commercial nets and Army systems. The 11th Air Defense Brigade began to introduce the Patriot batteries that would prove so vital to theater air defense or at least to a sense of security in the face of Iraqi missile attacks. The first two batteries arrived on 17 August, the same day the first elements of a 101st Airborne Division Aviation Task Force and the 24th Infantry Division's advanced elements came into theater.

Although the build-up seemed slow at the time, apparently it was not without effect. On 19 August, intelligence sources remarked that the Iraqis had begun building barriers across the Saudi-Kuwait border.[73] In retrospect, this was probably the first clear indication that Iraq's intention was to hold what it had seized rather than continue to the south. (A less-clear indicator would have been the Iraqi preoccupation with securing Kuwait City in early August rather than proceeding directly into Saudi Arabia.) On the 22d, President Bush authorized a call-up of Reserves. On 24 August, the Third Army's nightly situation report (SITREP) contained its most optimistic assessment to date, reporting: "ARCENT NOW HAS A POTENT

COMBAT FORCE WITH ALMOST A FULL ABN DIV, TWO BNS OF ATK AND THEIR SLICE OF CS AND CSS. . . . SITUATION IMPROVES SLIGHTLY EACH DAY. . . . AS OF TODAY, WE ARE CONFIDENT IN OUR ABILITY TO DETECT AND PUNISH A MAJOR ARMORED ATTACK."[74]

The following day, MARCENT was able to assume the security mission for Al Jubayl. By 28 August, the first heavy equipment of the 24th Infantry Division had begun to arrive. (The sea voyage could last from fourteen to twenty-five days.) On the 30th, the commander's SITREP reported, as it would more or less until the beginning of Desert Storm: "COMMANDER'S INTENT IS TO BE PREPARED TO FIGHT A COMBINED/JOINT BATTLE AT NIGHT WITH GIVEN FORCES, TRANSITION FROM ENCLAVE DEFENSE TO DEFENSE IN SECTOR, BUILD COMBAT POWER, IDENTIFY, SECURE, AND ESTABLISH BASES AND MSRS TO SUPPORT FUTURE OPERATIONS AND MAXIMIZE SECURITY AND SAFETY OF THE FORCE."[75]

By 31 August (C+24), the Iraqi force was estimated to be fifteen heavy and nine light brigades.[76] These forces were confronted along the Saudi border by a growing Arab force backed up by an American force of three infantry brigades, two attack helicopter battalions, elements of a Sheridan battalion (Sheridans are tracked, light-armored vehicles, not considered to be tanks), and division artillery. Two M1 tank battalions and one mechanized infantry battalion were in-country but not yet ready for action. When the Marine forces were included, 602 (land) antiarmor systems were available to Schwarzkopf. U.S. aircraft strength in theater was 106 air-to-air, 204 air-to-ground, and 214 dual-role aircraft, for a total of 524 combat aircraft.[77] These air assets obviously formed the main deterrent against land attack until the arrival of substantial heavy land forces.

It would be 30 October before XVIII Corps could report its entire force list assembled in theater, but the intervening time was busy. In early September, Schwarzkopf issued guidance for combined training with Saudi allies.[78] On 10 September, the Third Army commander acknowledged three missions: force generation, defense, and training. As a consequence, on the 13th, ARCENT began to look at expansion of its headquarters staff to an organization more closely resembling a major army command, which it was rapidly becoming in light of administrative and training tasks not envisioned by the peacetime TOE. These discussions were highly academic in light of force ceilings then being developed.

On 14 September, Schwarzkopf instructed Third Army, whose defensive sector had heretofore run east of Riyadh, to develop a contingency plan for the capital's defense. On the 24th, the 24th Infantry Division's equipment had all arrived, followed soon after by the 3d Armored Cavalry Regiment's. The First Cavalry Division's equipment began to arrive on 5 October.

Divisions moved through the ports and began to take up positions in the army defensive zone. They were confronted with the triple tasks of acclimatization—learning to live in 120 degree (or hotter) temperatures in the harsh desert environment, building a base structure, albeit austere, and training for the coming clash, be it defensive or offensive. In so doing, they had to confront a number of challenges, not all environmental. Early on, there was little or no training ammunition, and it would not do to fire up the basic load. As a sea line of communication was established, it was possible to get training ammunition, but units found that in recent years, ammunition sections of unit staffs had become part of the installation structure in the United States. The positions had been civilianized to save military force structure, as had range activities. Consequently, units had to learn not only how to obtain range areas in Saudi Arabia but how to run them.[79]

Simultaneously with creating the Army component of a viable deterrent, then defensive force, it was necessary to develop the instrumentalities of a coalition command, both to achieve unity of effort in any ground combat and, of more immediate importance, to provide points of access through which to address issues such as host-nation support. Doing this, largely without instructions or authority, may well constitute General Yeosock's principal contribution to Desert Shield, along with his detailed work creating the Army force structure.[80] Yeosock undertook the task almost at once, creating the Coalition Coordination Communication Integration Center (C3IC).

Why did the Army create the C3IC rather than headquarters Central Command? It did so largely because Yeosock realized that during operations in an allied state, ground forces bear a unique burden. They must occupy, train, and operate on land that belongs to another nation. They must do so without undermining the legitimacy of the host government whose continued security is the reason for their presence in the first place. For that reason and because ground forces are the most socially and culturally intrusive, the predominant land force commander, normally the Army component commander, must expect to be responsible for much of the practical U.S.-host-nation

military intercourse. This is especially true where no system of allied agreements preexists at the onset of military operations.

Yeosock did not believe the Army component was relieved of this inherent responsibility by the presence of a theater commander. The problem is simply overwhelming in its detail and magnitude and must be accomplished within general theater guidelines by those executive agents who know the scope and detail of what must be done. In early August, Schwarzkopf was in Tampa. Yeosock was on the ground trying to get his forces established in the peninsula, as was General Horner who, incidently, was the deputy commander in chief, forward. Yeosock could not wait for the CENTCOM staff to begin building a coalition command structure when he had troops in the air almost immediately. He saw what needed doing, he did it, and it worked. Schwarzkopf underwrote it, once it was done, and ultimately took the organization into his own headquarters.

Unlike NATO or even Korea, this new coalition was starting from scratch to develop those organizations and procedures, not to mention provision for essential host-nation logistic support, that would guarantee unity of effort. As an old Saudi hand, Yeosock was aware of the difficulties involved in obtaining a quick decision in a society governed by a monarch, where the power of decision was highly centralized and family-based, and inaction was often the key to political survival. Yeosock was aware that U.S. forces would be heavily dependent on a responsive host-nation support system just to get ashore and survive and that the traditional methods would not be responsive enough to meet the demands soon to be placed upon them. However, whatever instrumentalities were established, it was essential that Saudi authority not be undermined by an appearance of U.S. domination. Respect for the authority of the host nation had to remain a central element of any solution.

In the same way, as a former PMSANG, Yeosock was aware of the professional strengths and limitations of the Saudi land forces, a dual military (the Royal Saudi Land Forces and Saudi National Guard) consisting of brigade-sized units distributed geographically. He recognized the need to improve the Saudis' professional competence without slighting their political and cultural sensitivities. To this end, he devoted considerable effort to the development of the C3IC. This combined body was established on 13 August under the authority of the Joint Military Committee, the organ created to achieve unity of effort between the Saudi and American militaries while maintaining the independence of both.[81] (See figure 11.)

On the Saudi side, the C3IC was headed by Lieutenant General Khalid, the son of the minister of defense and a member of the royal family. Each of the Saudi and American principals had a deputy. The first Saudi deputy was Major General Abdul Aziz Al Sheik, who played a particularly important role in negotiating host-nation support. As the responsibilities of these officers increased with the growth of the Arab-Islamic Coalition Joint Forces Command, the Saudis appointed a succession of general officers to represent the Joint Forces Command in the C3IC. As indicated previously, Yeosock's deputy in C3IC was Major General Paul Schwartz. Schwartz was appointed vice deputy commanding general of Third Army, a title selected by Yeosock so that, on the one hand, no one on the American side would be quite sure what he did and, on the other, because the Saudis particularly respected the title qualifier "Vice."[82]

The C3IC was the principal interface organization between the Americans and Saudis. In December, Central Command assumed direct control of C3IC, taking Schwartz along with it. The C3IC was successful in becoming a forum through which the U.S. side could work a variety of coalition issues more rapidly than they could have done otherwise. By placing the Third Army planning staff in the C3IC (until its transfer in December), it also served as a model, by example, for the Saudi staff officers and, through "leadership by question," got the Saudis to do a sort of combined planning they might not have done otherwise. For Schwartz, the most important function of the C3IC was to act as a "reduction gear," to prevent "type A" American hard chargers from overwhelming the less compulsive Saudis.[83]

The location of the Third Army plans section in the Ministry of Defense building with the C3IC organization had mixed results. Aside from facilitating communication and coordination among coalition ground forces and stimulating and guiding much of the Saudi planning, it also permitted close coordination with the Central Command planners who were likewise located in the Ministry of Defense.[84] On the negative side, it separated the G3 Plans Section from the Third Army G3, who was located with the army headquarters in the Royal Saudi Land Forces headquarters some distance away. Since the G3, General Arnold, was new and had not learned to look for Colonel Gene Holloway as his principal planner, and since Holloway was effectively General Schwartz's chief of staff at C3IC, some internal stresses and delays in decision making resulted.

C3IC did not become an integrated headquarters as, perhaps, the U.S. side would have preferred, but it did allow combined staffing of issues of mutual interest, most particularly combined fire support and

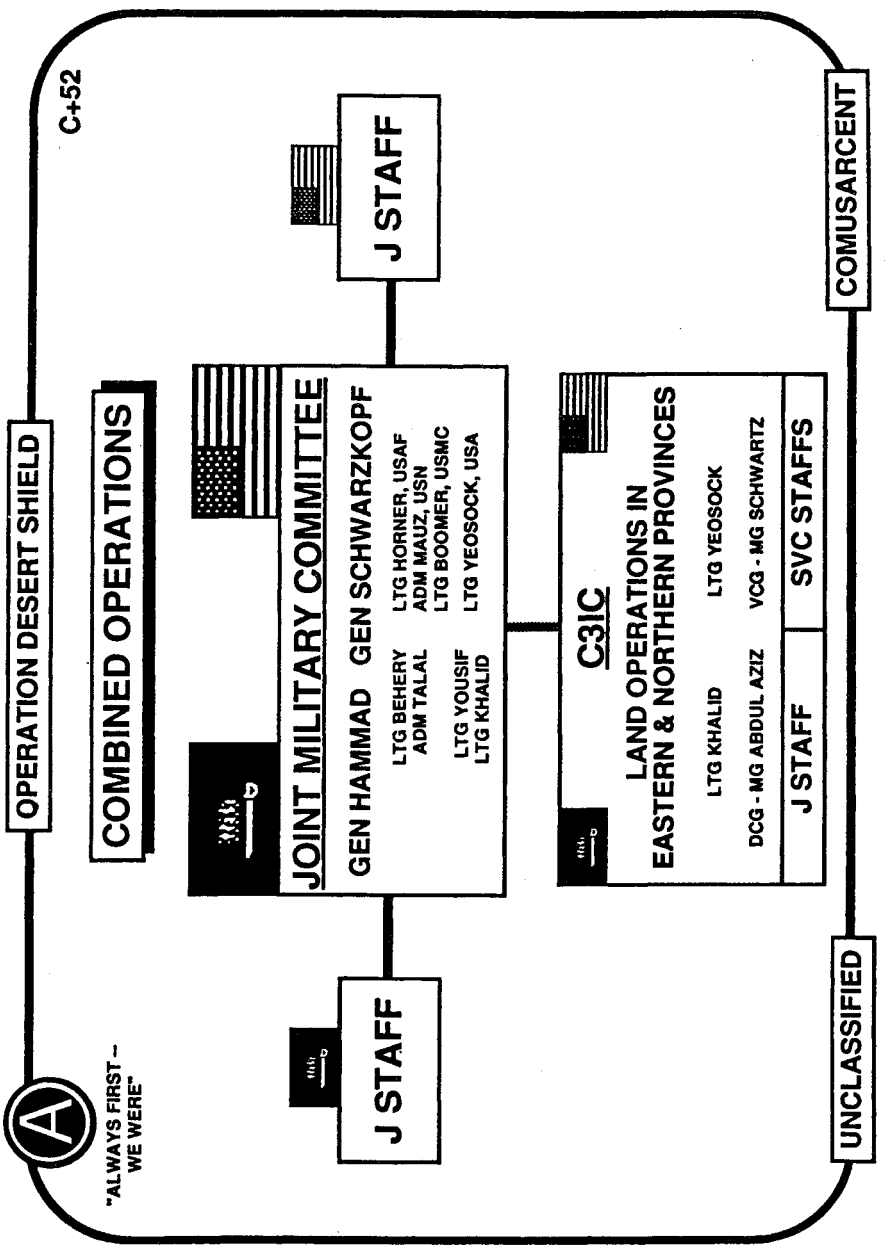


Figure 11. Coalition coordination structure in Operation Desert Shield

joint recognition procedures. It also provided a point of entry to develop host-nation support agreements.

In November 1990, Schwartz summarized the C3IC's accomplishments.[85] As its greatest achievement, he singled out orienting the Saudi staff to the operational processes used by U.S. forces. He noted that U.S. members brought to the task at hand a knowledge of multicorps operations. The Saudis could provide information about local terrain and operating constraints. Moreover, he observed that the process of professional interaction had a value in itself, referring to the C3IC as a "24 hour a day model classroom on how to establish and maintain an operations center."[86] The C3IC served as a conduit to the Saudi Joint Staff and spawned such vital forums as the Joint Forces Support Committee, where the army G4, Brigadier General James Monroe, could address host-nation support issues. If the organization did not meet staff college principles for unity of command, it was particularly well adapted to dealing with the complexity of Saudi politics and society.

Also among the most important activities undertaken early in Desert Shield was the force modernization of selected units. This complex procedure, involving replacement of older, less capable equipment with more modern, improved models, or introducing wholly new equipment into the force, could not be done without ensuring its costs did not exceed its benefits. Force modernization normally requires that soldiers be retrained to use new equipment; thus, it demands some time during which the unit is less than fully combat ready. More important in this case was the requirement for transportation, both intertheater and intratheater, a cost that could be very high in circumstances where transportation assets were always at a premium. In a theater where every HET was precious, as many as forty-four could be required each day to transfer modernization equipment. The whole process had to be managed closely. The commander's intent was to "field fully employable systems that contribute substantially to combat capabilities and require a minimal train-up."[87]

Interestingly enough, the first system brought in proved to be one of the least difficult to move or assimilate, and its contribution was decisive. Indeed, Yeosock was to call its introduction one of three keys to success.[88] The system was the small lightweight global positioning system receiver, a hand-held or vehicular-mounted device that tells the user where he is in the featureless desert. It was these devices and other comparable global positioning systems (GPSs) that made possible the decisive and simultaneous maneuver in formation of five

armored divisions and an armored cavalry regiment during Desert Storm. Global positioning systems were also absolutely essential to maintaining accurate indirect fire in the fast-moving mechanized attack.

SLUGR and similar but less expensive (and less capable) long-range, very-low-frequency navigation systems (LORAN) were purchased "off the shelf." Introduction of SLUGR was requested by Lieutenant General Gary Luck, the commander of XVIII Airborne Corps, who had used the devices during Operation Just Cause.[89] Purchase of a limited supply of GPSs for contingency operations had been discussed at the Department of the Army as recently as 1 August. The first Desert Shield-Desert Storm purchase was authorized by Major General Jerome Granrud, the ADCSOPS for force development, as early as 24 August 1990. Consequently, 7,509 GPSs were issued in theater, down to maneuver platoons and artillery batteries.

In addition to GPSs, by the beginning of the ground attack in February, seventeen battalions/squadrons had been reequipped with new M1A1 tanks, the first taken from European stocks on 24 October for delivery to XVIII Corps units in November. The first major item of equipment issued in theater was the AH-1F helicopter, which arrived for the 3d ACR on 22 October. Prior to Desert Storm, thirteen battalion sets of countermine equipment were issued along with forty-three combat engineer vehicles (CEVs) mine rakes (eight were loaned to the Egyptians). Eleven battalions/squadrons received M2A2/M3A2 Bradley fighting vehicles. Ninty-nine M9 Armored Engineer vehicles also were issued. In addition, 1,802 M939A2 five-ton trucks, 2,642 HMMWVs (including 50 or so "borrowed" by the Marines at Dhahran), sixty-one AH-1Fs, and thirty-two UH-60Ls were brought into the force.[90]

Aside from improving troop confidence and effectiveness, force modernization also introduced greater mechanical reliability, a major contributor to operational success. That these systems came from throughout the Army, from all theaters, indicates the support the entire Army gave to Operation Desert Shield-Desert Storm.

Sometimes, the introduction of new systems also contributed to global efforts not immediately associated with actions in the Persian Gulf. Introduction of the M1A1 tanks is a case in point. The introduction of M1A1s involved Army Materiel Command project managers, Europe's 7th Army Training Command New Equipment Training Teams, and much departmental and ARCENT staff coordination.[91] Since the tanks came from Europe, their arrival

enhanced the rate of mutual disarmament on the NATO Central Front while contributing to combat effectiveness in Saudi Arabia. The ARCENT commander's ability to tap into Army equipment stocks around the world is perhaps the most vivid example of what a component commander can do for the theater commander in his "departmental" as opposed to "joint" role.

As C+90 approached, Army forces in Saudi Arabia were completing their deployment. The naval embargo was in place, and Saddam Hussein was digging in in Kuwait. Toward the end of October, unmistakable signs appeared that the American administration had no intention of allowing a long-term stalemate to take hold.

Notes

1. HQ, Department of the Army, Army Public Affairs, Department of the Army Pamphlet 360-11, *Army General Officer Resumes* (18 March 1991), "Resume of Service Career of H. Norman Schwarzkopf, General." Schwarzkopf considers himself an experienced commander of both mechanized and light forces. He acknowledges, however, that his first experience with heavy forces came as a brigadier general. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 223, 240.

2. David Lamb, "Schwarzkopf Tries Not to Wear Out Hero's Welcome," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 October 1991, 1. Schwarzkopf's memoir indicates he saw the posting as one where he could "make history," but he acknowledges it was not viewed that way by his sponsor, Army Chief of Staff Carl Vuono. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 270–72.

3. Efforts are summarized in Andrew E. Gibson and Commander Jacob L. Shuford, "Desert Shield and Strategic Sealift," *The Naval War College Review* (Spring 1991): 6–11. Ronald O'Rourke, *Sealift and Operation Desert Shield* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, 17 September 1990), CRS 9–10.

4. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 273–74, 277–80.

5. HQ, Department of the Army, Army Public Affairs, Department of the Army Pamphlet 360-11, *Army General Officer Resumes* (18 March 1991), "Resume of Service Career of John Yeosock, Lieutenant General." Yeosock considered his former associations with Saudi political leaders his greatest strength in light of the magnitude of the host-nation support problem. In negotiating Saudi support for arriving American units, it was necessary to know who to ask, who had authority to decide, and develop a personal relationship of mutual trust.

6. Lieutenant General Yeosock to author.

7. HQ, Third Army, slide titled, "Third US Army HQ," New Realities Briefing, given by Major General Riley to the commander in chief, Forces Command, in July 1990.

8. Ibid.

9. For example, the corps chief of staff and G3 were both promotable colonels; none of the ARCENT staff were.

10. President George Bush, "Reshaping our Forces," a speech delivered at the Aspen Institute, Aspen, Colorado, 2 August 1990, reprinted in *Vital Speeches of the Day* 56, no. 22 (1 September 1990): 676–79.

11. "Chronology of Events, 1 August 1990 to 27 March 1991," Annex E to U.S. Army, Concepts and Analysis Agency Study Report, CAA-SR-91-18, Headquarters, Department of the Army Desert Shield/Desert Storm After-Action Report, vol. 1, Main Report (September 1991), E-Chronology-1. In late July, responding to concerns of the United Arab Emirates about Saddam's threatening position, the United States deployed aerial tankers and established a naval radar picket across the Persian Gulf to provide warning of air attack. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 292–93.

12. Interview with Lieutenant General John Yeosock at the Royal Saudi Land Forces Building, 26 September 1990, 7.

13. Chronology—22d Support Command, Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, HQ, 22d Support Command (TAA) Memorandum, Subject: Update Desert Storm, dated 6 June 1991. This report is part of the Desert Storm after-action report collection process. According to General Yeosock, the first request he made to General Burba, following the summons to go to MacDill AFB, on 4 August 1990, was for the services of General Pagonis to be his DCG logistics. Schwarzkopf had been involved in hectic activity to inform the president and his inner circle of available U.S. military responses since the detection of the Iraqi deployment. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 294–302. General Pagonis describes the predeployment atmosphere at Fort McPherson in Lieutenant General William G. Pagonis with Jeffery L. Cruishank, *Moving Mountains: Lessons in Leadership and Logistics for the Gulf War* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1992), 63–72. According to Pagonis, his initial contract extended only to host-nation support and expanded under the pressures of the deployment. Ibid., 90.

14. Interview with Lieutenant General John Yeosock at the Royal Saudi Land Forces Building, 26 September 1990, 8. Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Larry Gresham, n.d.

15. Horner, "Offensive Air Operations: Lessons for the Future," 19.

16. "Chronology of Events, 1 August 1990 to 27 March 1991," Annex E to U.S. Army, Concepts and Analysis Agency Study Report, CAA-SR-91-18, Headquarters, Department of the Army Desert Shield/Desert Storm After-Action Report, vol. 1, Main Report (September 1991), E-Chronology-2, 8.

17. President George Bush, "The Defense of Saudi Arabia," delivered at the White House, Washington, D.C., 8 August 1990, reprinted in *Vital Speeches of the Day*, vol. 56 (1 September 1990): 674–75. The president's statement is followed by that of King Fahd Bin Abdel Aziz. *The New York Times* reported the deployments on 7 August, *The New York Times*, 8 August 1990, A1. Schwarzkopf describes negotiations with the king in Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 304–5.

18. Yeosock, "Army Operations in the Gulf Theater," *Military Review* 71 (September 1991): 2–15. "H+100: An Army Comes of Age in the Persian Gulf," *Army* 41, no. 10 (October 1991): 44–58. Slide titled, "Third Army Is Three Armies," from the Third Army Operation Desert Storm command briefing dated 15 August 1991.

19. Department of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Armed Forces Staff College, Armed Forces Staff College Publication 1, *The Joint Staff Officer's Guide, 1991*, paragraph 201, "Organization for National Security," 2-2 to 2-7.

20. Ibid., paragraph 204e, "The Joint Chiefs Today, Chairman," 2-11 to 2-12.

21. Ibid., paragraph 204, "The Joint Chiefs Today," 2-9 et seq.

22. Ibid., paragraph 206d, "Unified and Specified Commands, Authority," 2-21 to 2-22.

23. Message, 101100Z August 90, FM USCINCCENT, MACDILL AFB FL, MSGID/ORDER/USCINCCENT, NARR/ THIS OPORD FORMS USCINCCENT ORDER FOR OPERATION DESERT SHIELD, 32.

24. Ibid., 31. HQ, USCENTCOM, USCINCCENT OPLAN for Operation Desert Storm, 16 December 1990. The term "communications zone" seems to have been avoided

throughout. To all intents and purposes, ARCENT, through the 22d Support Command, operated the theater communications zone.

25. Schwarzkopf, *It Doesn't Take a Hero*, 311–12.

26. There is a difference in the way division force equivalents were counted by ARCENT in Internal Look and Desert Shield. In Desert Shield, to arrive at four and two-thirds division force equivalents, you have to count the aviation brigade as a one-third division force equivalent. This was not done in the case of Internal Look, where only ground maneuver units (brigades and regiments) were counted. The continued use of four and two-thirds probably reflects the force of habit on the part of the slide makers. See HQ, Third Army, ARCENT Update briefing, C+52 (presented to the Secretary of the Army) 28 September 1990, slide titled, "Minimum Essential Force Development," dated 28 September 1990.

27. Ibid., slide titled, "Reserve Component Support to ARCENT HQ," dated 28 September 1990, shows the headquarters had 226 Active Component personnel against the authorization of 222; 120 Reserve Component personnel, the bulk of whom were TTAD (temporary tour of active duty UP AR 135-210), the remainder Active Guard and Reserve (AGR) soldiers, for a total of 346 against the wartime MTOE requirement of 825.

28. President George Bush, "The Defense of Saudi Arabia," delivered at the White House, Washington, D.C., 8 August 1990, reprinted in *Vital Speeches of the Day* 56 (1 September 1990): 674. The ARCENT "Phase I" Command Briefing listed as its fourth objective "Protect the Persian Gulf" in lieu of "Protect American Citizens Abroad." That objective was stated in the president's speech as well as the four enumerated.

29. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), DOD New Briefing, Tuesday, 8 August 1990, 1:00 P.M. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, USA, 1–8.

30. HQ, Third Army, ARCENT Update briefing, C+19, 26 August 1990, slide titled, "ARCENT HQ's Capability" shows twenty: Yeosock, Gresham, five from PMSANG, and thirteen from USMTM. This slide was corrected by C+27 (3 September) to show nine from PMSANG for a total of twenty-four.

31. HQ, Third Army, ARCENT Update briefing, C+19, 26 August 1990, slide titled, "ARCENT Major Tasks, First 72 Hours (6–8 August)." This was among the longer-lived slides in the army command briefing.

32. Interview with Major General Paul Schwartz at Fort Lewis, Washington, 18 April 1991, 5–7.

33. Interview with General Steven Arnold, Eskan Village, Riyadh, S.A., 15 March 1991, 2. Interview with Brigadier General John Stewart, Eskan Village, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 30 March 1990, 2.

34. HQ, Third Army (AFRD-DTP), Memorandum for Desert Storm Study Group, Subject: OPLAN 1002, Desert Shield and Desert Storm Planning, dated 4 June 1991, paragraph 3a, 5–6. The memorandum was prepared for Colonel Holloway, chief of plans for ARCENT by Major Steve Holley, the 1002 plans officer. HQ, Third Army (AFRD-DT), Memorandum thru Chief, G3 Program Division, Subject: Joint Operations Planning and Execution System (JOPES) Branch Historical Report Input, dated 21 February 1991. This memorandum, prepared for the army historian,

points out that the normal joint planning cycle lasts from eighteen to twenty-four months. In this case, 1002-90 was seven months into that cycle. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 310–11.

35. The conclusion is taken from the logistics overview briefing given by ARCENT to the Secretary of the Army on 14 March 1990. There were two kinds of preposition ships in the CENTCOM area of interest. MPS ships (Maritime Prepositioning Ships) carry Marine Corps expeditionary brigade sets, to include fighting systems, the concept being that Marines are flown into theater and join their equipment in the port, much like POMCUS stocks in Europe. The Army and Air Force have APS (Afloat Prepositioned Ships) that carry sustainment (ammunition, food, fuel, water, tentage) and port-operating supplies—the assumption being that fighting systems will come by air or ship. O'Rourke, *Sealift and Operation Desert Shield* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, 17 September 1990), CRS 15–18. United States Congress, House of Representatives, *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Merchant Marine of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on Our Nation's Capabilities to Meet Sealift Requirements Caused by American Deployment to the Persian Gulf, September 18 & 25*, 1990, Serial No. 101-120, Statement of Vice Admiral Francis R. Donovan, USN, Commander Military Sealift Command before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee Subcommittee on Merchant Marine Oversight Hearing on Sealift Requirements for the Persian Gulf Crisis, 18 September 1990, 103–5. For an account of what this looked like on the receiving end, see Pagonis, *Moving Mountains*, 84–130. On prepositioned shipping, see Ibid., 70.

36. Statement of General Colin L. Powell, USA, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Senate Armed Services Committee, 11 September 1990, reprinted in U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), American Forces Information Service, *Defense Issues* 5, no. 39. The chairman did not match the deployments with the phases. The phases given obviously overlapped. For the discussion of force deployments against these phases identified by the chairman, the author has drawn heavily upon the explanation given by Colonel Paul Tiberi and James C. Wendt in *Gathering the Storm: Contingency Planning and Force Projection*, Association of the United States Army, The Institute of Land Warfare, *The Land Warfare Papers*, no. 7 (September 1991). This author has diverged in small details from the Tiberi and Wendt explanation. (I place the deployment of the 7th MEB in Phase II rather than Phase I, and I disagree somewhat with their characterization of phases. By titling the third phase "coercion," the authors of this paper read rather more into the third phase than the chairman said or the force structure seemed to warrant in October 1990 when laid down against the simultaneous Iraqi deployment into Kuwait. During Desert Shield, coercion came first from the sea and then in the air but not on the land. That must be understood to understand the import of the 8 November creation of an offensive option. Those issues aside, the study is an excellent overview of the Desert Shield deployment.)

37. Tiberi and Wendt, *Gathering the Storm*, 9; and Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 321–23.

38. Michael R. Gordon, "Bush Orders Navy to Halt All Shipments of Iraq's Oil and Almost All Its Imports: Some Food to Pass, Word 'Blockade' Avoided to Sidestep Question of New U.N. Vote," *The New York Times*, 13 August 1990, A1 and A8; "U.S. Ships Fire in Warning When Iraqis Refuse to Halt," *The New York Times*, 19 August 1990, A11.

39. Tiberi and Wendt, *Gathering the Storm*, 9–12. U.S. Department of Defense, *Conduct of the Persian Gulf War; Final Report to Congress Pursuant to Title V of The Persian Gulf Conflict Supplemental Authorization and Personnel Benefits Act of 1991 (Public Law 102-25)* (April 1992), Appendix E, "Deployment," E-20.

40. Ibid. Arrival is confirmed by the ARCENT SITREP, C+21 (28 AUG 90), AFRD-CS (282330 AUG 90), Memorandum for All Major Subordinate Commands and Staff, Subject: ARCENT Command SITREP #12 as of COB 28 August (C+21). (During the early days of the deployment, ARCENT headquarters sent out two SITREPS each day—one a message, one a memorandum. By the end of the month, both were combined into a single message.) The fast sealift ships carry about one brigade in two ships, a mechanized division in eight, or two divisions' equipment sets in eight. O'Rourke, *Sealift and Operation Desert Shield*, CRS 18–19.

41. Tiberi and Wendt, *Gathering the Storm*, 9–12.

42. The ARCENT SITREP reports closure of the 101st on 7 October, Message, 072359ZOCT 90, FM COMUSARCENT MAIN//AFRD-DCG//, MSGID/SITREP/USARCENT MAIN G3//; Tiberi and Wendt, the 4th. The 3d ACR is reported closing 14 October by ARCENT, Message, 142359 OCT 90, FM COMUSARCENT MAIN//AFRD-DCG//, MSGID/SITREP/USARCENT MAIN G3//, by Tiberi and Wendt, the 13th. The difference probably depends on what is counted for arrival and whether U.S. or Saudi time is used.

43. HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, Force Generation Briefing (as of 7 November 1990), slide titled, "DS 90 TPFDD Chronology." HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT Update C+52 (28 September 1990), slide titled, "Command and Control." HQ, Third Army (AFRD-DT), Memorandum thru Chief, G3 Program Division, Subject: Joint Operations Planning and Execution System (JOPES) Branch Historical Report Input, dated 21 February 1991.

44. See EYES ONLY Message, 051830Z SEP 90, FROM SSO FORSCOM TO SSO CINCCENT (FOR MAJ GEN JOHNSTON, C/S, CENTCOM, MAIN DHAHRAN, FROM MG TAYLOR, DCINCFOR), Subject: Minimum Essential Support for Desert Shield, which summarizes process to date and indicates principal constraint was transportation.

45. HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT Update C+52 (28 September 1990), slides titled, "Minimum Essential Force Development."

46. Crisis Action Team (CAT) Tasking Form, CAT No. 8302, Suspense: 171000 August 1990, Subject: Minimum Selective Reserve Call-Up Requirements.

47. Harry G. Summers, Jr., *On Strategy II: A Critical Analysis of the Gulf War* (New York: Dell Books, 1992), 72–73.

48. General Schwarzkopf found himself at loggerheads with his mentor, General Carl Vuono, the army chief of staff, over the issue of the roundout brigades. Vuono wanted to deploy the units; Schwarzkopf did not because of the 180-day limit on their mobilizations. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 323.

49. CAT Tasking Form, CAT No. 8241, Suspense: 161100 August, Subject: Service Estimates for Selective Reserve Call-up. Attached to the form is a memo from J4 of the Joint Staff that indicates the 15 August date.

50. Department of Defense, Joint Staff, JS Form 137L Feb 90, Joint Action Processing Form, Subject: Selective Reserve Call-up Requirements by Service.

51. Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Memorandum for the Secretaries of the Military Departments, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Subject: Call of Selected Reserve Units and Personnel to Active Duty, dated 23 August 1990.

52. Message, 041700C OCT 90, FM USCINCCENT TO RHIUFAA/USCENTAF FWD HQS ELEMENT, et al., PERSONAL FOR GENERALS HORNER, YEOSOCK, BOOMER, ADMIRAL MAUZ AND COLONEL JOHNSON FROM GENERAL SCHWARZKOPF, Subject: Force End-Strength Ceiling. The British forces deployed in the fall of 1990 also operated under strict minimum-essential force guidance, called more colorfully the "arm in the mangle" policy, after Margaret Thatchers' comment that, "The Government was anxious 'not to get its arm caught in the mangle'—not to be dragged into a conflict which would demand ever-increasing commitment of men and resources." General Sir Peter de la Billiere, *Storm Command: A Personal Account of the Gulf War* (London: Harper Collins, 1992), 17, 77, 129.

53. EYES ONLY Message, 051830Z SEP 90, FROM SSO FORSCOM TO SSO CINCCENT (FOR MAJ GEN JOHNSTON, C/S, CENTCOM, MAIN DHAHRAN, FROM MG TAYLOR, DCINCFOR), Subject: Minimum Essential Support for Desert Shield.

54. Ibid.

55. Message, 060111Z SEP 90, FM SSO USCINCCENT REAR TO USCINCCENT 0511800Z SEP 90 ZYH, FROM SSO FORSCOM TO SSO CINCCENT, EYES ONLY FOR GEN SCHWARZKOPF, CINCCENT, FROM GEN BURBA, CINCFOR, Subject: Minimum Essential Face [*sic*] for Desert Shield, 2.

56. EYES ONLY Message, 190500Z SEP 90, FROM GENERAL SCHWARZKOPF TO GENERAL BURBA, Subject: Minimum Essential Force for Desert Shield.

57. Message, 091501Z OCT 90 FROM USCINCCENT TO RHIPAAA/COMUSARCENT MAIN, PERSONAL FOR LTG YEOSOCK FROM GENERAL SCHWARZKOPF, MSGID/SYS.RMM/USCINCCENT/CCCC//RMKS 1. The message approved an ARCENT CAP of 140,000.

58. HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT UPDATE Briefing C + 52 (presented to Secretary of the Army) and, HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT Update Briefing C + 61 (presented to the chief of staff, Army).

59. For example, the XVIII Finance Group assumed responsibility for EAC finance support as well as that of the corps. HQ, Third Army, AFRD-RM, Memorandum for ARCENT History Office (Colonel Swain), Subject: Command Report Operation Desert Shield, dated 8 March 1991, 3.

60. At a seminar at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Lieutenant General Luck, Commander XVIII Corps, and Major General Funk, Desert Storm commander of the 3d Armored Division, were paraphrased as having taken the position that Third Army was an unnecessary headquarters. HQ, Combined Arms Command and Fort Leavenworth, ATZL-CG, Memorandum for Record, Subject: AirLand Operations Seminar with

Desert Storm Commanders, dated 27 June 1991, 2. The note taker was Lieutenant General Leonard Wishart, the Combined Arms Command commander.

61. HQ, Third Army, Command Group, Force Generation Briefing. Briefing titled, "SWA Force Comparison," located in Lieutenant General Yeosock's AAR files.

62. Notes from interview with Lieutenant General Yeosock on 31 May 1991. HQ, ARCENT, briefing titled, "SWA Force Comparison." This briefing, found in the commander's papers, its origins unknown, compares ARCENT force structure to that called for by Army of excellence (AOE) requirements. See also, HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT Update C+52 (28 September 1990), slides titled, "Reserve Component Support to ARCENT HQ" and "Minimum Essential Force Development (2)."

63. Notes from interview with Lieutenant General Yeosock on 31 May 1991. HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT UPDATE C+52 (28 September 1990), slides titled, "Theater Logistics Chain of Command" and "ARCENT Support Command (Provisional)." HQ, 22d Support Command, AFSC-MHD, Memorandum for Commanding General, ARCENT, Attn: AFRD-CS-MH, Subject: Command Report Operation Desert Shield, 22d Support Command, dated 23 March 1991. To those who had to execute, it looked much more drastic. Pagonis, *Moving Mountains*, 89–95, 97–104.

64. The agreement, effective 1 November 1990, is reproduced as Annex F to HQ, 22d Support Command, AFSC-RM, Memorandum for ARCENT Historian, Subject: Command Report for Operation Desert Shield, dated 23 February 1991. Pagonis, *Moving Mountains*, 107–18.

65. Notes from interview with Lieutenant General Yeosock on 31 May 1991. See also note by General Robert Frix, ARCENT chief of staff, on cover sheet to ARCENT Command SITREP, C+26 (2 SEP 90), Memorandum for Major General Taylor, ARCENT Rear; Info Major General Riley, Subject: ARCENT Command SITREP #16 as of COB 2 SEP (C+26). The memorandum gives the position of COMUSARCENT on 377th TAACOM. See also HQ, 22d Support Command, AFSC-MHD, Memorandum for Commanding General, ARCENT, Attn: AFRD-CS-MH, Subject: Command Report Operation Desert Shield, 22d Support Command, dated 23 March 1991.

66. Message, 101100Z August 90, FM USCINCCENT, MACDILL AFB FL, MSGID/ORDER/USCINCCENT, NARR/ THIS OPORD FORMS USCINCCENT ORDER FOR OPERATION DESERT SHIELD.

67. Ibid., 13.

68. Ibid., 30–32.

69. Message, 220900Z August 90, FROM CDRUSARCENT RIYADH SA, Subject: Desert Shield Operations.

70. HQ, ARCENT, G3 AFRD-DTP, Memorandum for USARCENT Historian, Colonel Swain, Subject: HQ, USARCENT, G3 Plans, Historical Narrative of Desert Shield, Desert Storm, Defense and Restoration of Kuwait, and Redeployment. This memorandum, prepared by Major Steve Holley for signature by Colonel Harold E. Holloway, summarizes the role of the ARCENT G3 plans in Desert Shield-Desert Storm. It is the most comprehensive historical document prepared by the ARCENT staff for the Gulf War. Because the plans shop was central to Yeosock's way of doing

business, this twenty-three-volume documentary set is invaluable to anyone who would understand what ARCENT did during the war. All ARCENT orders are included in the set.

71. Enclosure 2 to HQ, ARCENT, G3 AFRD-DTP, Memorandum for USARCENT Historian, Colonel Swain, Subject: HQ, USARCENT, G3 Plans, Historical Narrative of Desert Shield, Desert Storm, Defense and Restoration of Kuwait, and Redeployment. These concept slides appear in the daily ARCENT Update briefings for August as well.

72. HQ, XVIII Airborne Corps, Initial After-Action Report Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Operation Desert Shield Chronology, 1–2.

73. Message, 192300Z AUG 90, FROM COMUSARCENT FT MCPHERSON GA//AFRD-DSO//MSGID/SITREP/USARCENT AFRO-DTD//PERID/182400Z/ TO: 192400Z/ AS OF: 192400Z, 6–8.

74. Message, 242300Z AUG 90, FROM COMUSARCENT FT MCPHERSON GA//AFRD-DSO//MSGID/SITREP/USARCENT AFRD-DSO//PERID/232400Z/ TO: 242400Z// AS OF: 242400Z, 7.

75. Message, 302359Z AUG 90, FROM COMUSARCENT MAIN RIYADH SA//AFRD-DCG, MSGID/SITREP/USARCENT MAIN G3, 9.

76. HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT Update Briefing C+24 (31 August 1990), slides titled, "Current Situation 31 Aug" and "Threat Summary 31 Aug." These early estimates were highly subjective. The ARCENT situation report for 31 August listed eight to ten Iraqi divisions with eleven heavy and nine light brigades. Whatever the count, the Iraqis were vastly superior in heavy ground combat forces.

77. HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT Update Briefing C+24 (31 August 1990), slide titled, "If We Have to Fight Tonight." Message, 012115Z SEP 90, FM USCINCCENT, MSGID/SITREP/USCINCCENT/023/SEP//, 8.

78. Message, 062359Z SEP 90, FM COMUSARCENT//AFRD-DCG, MSGID/SITREP/USARCENT MAIN G3, 12–13.

79. HQ, ARCENT, G3 Training (AFRD-DT), Memorandum for COMUSARCENT, Attn: History Office, Subject: Training, Command Report Operation Desert Shield, dated 25 February 1991. Notes from interview with Lieutenant Colonel Pat Lamar, G3, 24th ID.

80. Schwarzkopf's memoir would seem to indicate he discussed the general principles for combined command with Horner and Yeosock around the 8th. Schwarzkopf, *Doesn't Take a Hero*, 313. C3IC was the embodiment of that guidance.

81. HQ, USCENTCOM, C3IC, Memorandum for Deputy CINC, USCENTCOM, Subject: C3IC Support to the Saudi Military Staff, dated 26 November 1990. This memorandum, prepared by Major General Paul Schwartz, summarizes C3IC while under ARCENT. General Schwartz has contributed a lengthy interview on the role of C3IC as well.

82. Stories provided to author by Yeosock and Schwartz. See also interview with Lieutenant General John Yeosock, Royal Saudi Land Forces Building, Riyadh, S.A., 26 September 1990, 11. Interview with Major General Paul Schwartz at Fort Lewis, Washington, 2 May 1991, 3.

83. Comment about "reduction gear" was made by General Schwartz to author. See also interview with Major General Paul Schwartz at Fort Lewis, Washington, 2 May 1991, 57–58.

84. HQ, ARCENT, G3 AFRD-DTP, Memorandum for USARCENT Historian, Colonel Swain, Subject: HQ, USARCENT, G3 Plans, Historical Narrative of Desert Shield, Desert Storm, Defense and Restoration of Kuwait, and Redeployment, 2.

85. HQ, USCENTCOM, C3IC, Memorandum for Deputy CINC, USCENTCOM, Subject: C3IC Support to the Saudi Military Staff, dated 26 November 1990.

86. Ibid.

87. The mission is taken from ARCENT Force Modernization Briefing given the Secretary of the Army on 14 March 1991 at Riyadh, slide titled, "Commander's Intent." More contemporary slides are two briefings given by ARCENT G3 to CG on 10 and 11 October 1990 concerning M1 upgrade program.

88. HQ, ARCENT, Command Group, ARCENT Update Briefing for Chief of Staff, Army, 20 April 1991, slide titled, "Commander's Keys to Success."

89. HQ, Department of the Army, DAMO-FDC, Memorandum for Chief, Center of Military History, Washington, D.C., Subject: Procurement of Small Lightweight Global Positioning System Receivers (SLUGR) for Operations Desert Shield/Storm.

90. ARCENT Force Modernization Briefing given the secretary of the Army on 14 March 1991.

91. A complete report of materiel fielding efforts is to be found in Program Executive Office, Armored Systems Modernization, Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm (Saudi Arabia) Material Fielding Team Historical Report, 2 July 1991.